EVERY GUARDIAN READER GET A NEW READER!

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper
5 cents
Vol. 2, No. 20
NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 22, 1950

Photo by Elizabeth Timberman

On the job—after victory

The miners did it with unity — so can the GUARDIAN's readers

If you do, we go weekly again before 3d of May

THE big push for peace is on. Clergymen, scientists, teachers, union men, housewives, plain common-sense people everywhere—and even some senators—are mobilizing for it.

It is a time to be in the fight.

It is a time when people are demanding all the information they can get; when men and women everywhere who are determined for peace and political decency must know that they are not alone wherever they are, that there are thousands, millions who are with them—and that they are right!

In this situation, NATIONAL GUARDIAN has a unique role.

We are the only 48-state independent publication in the U. S. A. unequivocally backing this great push for peace.

Yet this Spring we feel like a benched hitter, because we have been forced by financial stress to become a fortnightly instead of a weekly at precisely the time in history when our hitting power should be in the lineup every week!

READERS by the hundreds are protesting to us, with the GUARDIAN now coming out only once a fortnight, that it's like trying to win a fight with one hand tied behind your back.

We have been appearing fortnightly instead of weekly since Feb. 8, when shortage of cash made the decision inevitable. While circulation nears the 100,000 mark, cash is still too short to resume weekly publication.

We know as well as you do that we should get back to a weekly in a hurry, because the need for facts is so urgent.

BUT to resume weekly publication, we need cash in hand—cash of the sort that we can hope to obtain only by a big, sudden boost in paid circulation. We must shoot for twice our present circulation, and your letters leave us in no doubt that we can get it—if we can get everybody working on it at once.

It looks tough, but one simple action by you, personally, can make it a plain pushover. So here's the proposition we make to you—to every reader of these paragraphs:

EVERY READER GET A READER — JUST ONE. Mail us one new cash subscription today—and we guarantee to return to weekly publication no later than the issue of May 3.

Do this regardless of whatever else you may have already done or not done in response to past appeals. If you're a new reader, join the rest of us today in the GUARDIAN's "Operation Snowball."

Before you turn the page, stop for one minute and —

- Fill in the blank below with the name and address of someone you want to receive the GUARDIAN.
- Tear out the blank.

Mail it right off with $1.

If you don't have envelope and stamp, put the blank in your pocket or purse with your lunch money until you can get them. But do it TODAY.

—THE EDITORS

(Don't worry about possible letters-to-the-editor on the back of this blank. We've taken care of that.)

↓

Here's one reader who got his reader. Now you get back to a weekly. Enclosed find $1 for a subscription for:

Name ....
Street ....
City ....Zone .....State ....
Sender's name ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street New York 7, N. Y.

Also in this issue

Calendar 13
Coca-Cola flood 9
Dollar Stretcher 15
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THE MAILBAG

Peach of a guy

ATLANTA, GA.

One of the most hopeful signs in this progressive battle is the growing strength of our paper, the GUARDIAN. Here are five more Georgia subscribers. As a progressive missionary I pledge you more. **George Wannamaker III**

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Farmer's friend

GRAND FORKS, NEB.

The recent article on the Farmers Union was very fine and I want to express my appreciation for it.

While some FUers object to straight talk and worry about honest criticism, most of us farmers prefer to call a spade a spade. We know that the only way we can solve our problems is by looking them right in the eye first, and by your gentle, helpful criticism, you show us that you are really the friend of the farmers—not just another bunch of piecard politicians who pop up as "champions of the family-size farmers" at election time. **A Farmers Union Builder**

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Jimcrow in slippers

LONDON, ENGLAND

The weight of public opinion might force the British Socialist (?) government to reverse its decision in the case of Seretse Khama—but at the moment of writing I ask—could our government sink much lower? Malan must indeed be pleased that by some coincidence our government has reacted to the situation just as he would wish. No jimcrow in the United Kingdom? Don't believe it! Our jimcrow laws and rules creep about in rubber-soled slippers—that's the only difference. **William T. Dendy**

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From Africa

HARBEL, LIBERIA

The features of your NATIONAL GUARDIAN are just scintillating and vibrating. The paper assures all nationally-conscious elements of the dependent countries that after all there are progressive and sympathetic liberators elsewhere.

I am a Gold Coast African touring the west coast of Africa. My people are determined to be free from foreign subjugation, and as such we need the aid of all progressive internationalists. Long live the GUARDIAN! Long live Henry Wallace!

Ernest V. Mante

Printers know best

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed is an $8 check to cover four subscriptions and two renewals plus a little donation. We fervently hope that you will find a way out of your difficulties. We must not allow this paper to die.

Some progressive printers

Thanks from the whole GUARDIAN staff to "progressive printers" and hundreds of other anonymous GUARDIAN supporters who have sent sums ranging from $1 to $50. In many cases the money was accompanied by an unsigned note of cheer and encouragement. Ed.

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How dead?

SEATTLE, WASH.

Enclosed you will find $5 for which please send us 200 copies of the GUARDIAN—the surplus buck is your commission.

In this area, the launching of the H-Bomb development program and particularly the threat to survival which its punitive application poses has produced a strong anti-war sentiment among the more thoughtful elements of the populace. Now, it is possible for a progressive to make a flat, unqualified statement opposing any national policy which is demonstrably conducive to promoting war. It is possible to demolish the proprietary basis of reaction by retorting: "You say it is dangerous to speak out for peace? Well, friend, you can now see that it is more dangerous to permit use of the H-Bomb. Now, choose! Will it be silence and oblivion, or action to abolish war?"

As an individual, I put it in a slightly different way to a supervisory employee. "You say a person will be called a communist for speaking against war? My reply to that is that I'm whatever it takes to preserve peace. I'm going to be murdered if I can't stop wars from occurring. I'd rather die fighting for life than meekly submit to slaughter under someone else's terms. How dead can a man get?"

Norbert K. Garbstas, Editor
Rainier Valley Progressive

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That British muddle

DEAL, ENGLAND

May I congratulate you on NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which I have now been receiving for some months. It is a splendid live paper which has unfortunately no counterpart in this country. I pass my copy to friends among the mine workers who read it eagerly and hand it on.

One contributory cause to the muddle we are in at present in this country is that all serious discussion of current events has been forbidden in the newspapers during the past four years. The press has gone in for one way propaganda in support of the cold war and closed its correspondence columns to readers who argue against the tri-partisan Bevin policy. Reckless warmongering columnists like A. J. Cummings, who seems to have caught the Forrestal case, have the field to themselves since no one is permitted to refute their lies. It is only in the columns of obscure little provincial weeklies that controversy is allowed.

I hope the GUARDIAN will soon overcome its financial difficulties and reach a circulation of half a million by the end of the year.

Douglas Goldring

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Doctor in the house?

CHICAGO, ILL.

The 15th of March is the last day for doctors to pay their society dues; failure to pay means automatic expulsion. Here in Illinois the dues have been upped from $25 to $60 a year. It would be a good thing to find out how many doctors have refused to pay the increase. I know it takes thousands of dollars to poll the nation's doctors on the above subject, but we need that information for future reference when the federal health law is passed. Then we'll need doctors to fill state, county, city and hospital executive positions who will work honestly to make a success of the venture and not throw monkey wrenches in the machinery like some of the Tory doctors are doing in England to discredit the National Health Program. Now, to further insure success of our health program, see to it that all doctors subscribing to NATIONAL GUARDIAN will get top key positions in state, county, and city hospitals throughout the nation.

Dr. H. Zaczeck

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Aware and grateful

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed please find our check in the amount of $100 for 100 subscriptions to the GUARDIAN.

The membership of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards is aware and grateful for the magnificent fight for peace, democracy and security being waged by the GUARDIAN. The commercial press has so distorted the position of progressive labor unions in America today that it is a relief to be able to read the truth in your paper.

Keep up the good fight.

C. E. Johanson, Agent
New York Branch

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The Church universal

BYRON, ILL.

I am a retired farmer, and for the last ten years have been traveling up and down this U. S. gathering information on how to make a better U. S. and a One World. I believe in the Church—not denominationalism but the Church universal that teaches the brotherhood of man. I know of no better place to arouse the conscience of America than the Church, and I know when we get that conscience roused we will go out and do something about it. But the trouble with too many of our churches today is that they are filled with stuffed white shirts with nothing in them.

In a fair-sized southern city I heard three sermons in a Baptist church all inside of two hours, but when I looked at the homes in their Negro district it proved to me that we need to get our hearts out of the weeping willow tree and finish the job Lincoln started. On one Sunday in New Mexico I went to a Presbyterian church in the morning, a Baptist in the afternoon and a Methodist in the evening. Excellent sermons, but what hurts me is to hear them sing Glory Hallelujah and then come out and want to stop communism with the atom comb.

I belong to Wallace's Gideon band, so am not afraid to speak my mind. Although I believe in the Church sincerely, I do not belong to one at present, but am building one of my own. But before we can build a church we have to have people—people with the same mind that built the first Christian Church at Antioch. We of the PP can build that Church under the leadership of Henry Wallace. Misunderstandings will come up the same as they did in the early Church, but if we can put our feet under the same table, and it is built on the Bible, we cannot go wrong.

Claud Conger

"The ship is on page one—come and get me later!"

Can it happen here?

Truman's plan to jail 12,000 U. S. citizens

By Fritz Silber

THE Truman Administration has a program to arrest, try and jail 12,000 Americans tagged as "subversive." This is scheduled for next year—if the Smith Act is finally upheld by the courts in the appeal of the 11 Communist Party leaders convicted at Foley Square.

The time table was given to Congress on Jan. 12 by Assistant U.S. Attorney General Raymond P. Whearty. (His verbatim testimony is on page 3.)

THE WARNING IS CLEAR: The GUARDIAN has examined the Whearty testimony carefully, analyzed it with experts in the light of all surrounding evidences of approaching American fascism. At first the implications seemed too shocking to be credited. But they stand up, painfully clear: **From the assault on the civil rights of Communists and "sympathizers" the Truman Administration is ready to move to the direct suppression of liberal and progressive people and ideas—by wholesale arrests, quick, loaded trials and the general smashing of constitutional liberties.**

Memo to all readers

In this story and in the additional details on p. 3, a single fact stands out: the Truman Administration has laid out a calculated program to jail tens of thousands of Americans who believe in basic American democratic ideas.

The GUARDIAN realizes, in presenting this story, that it is alarming—perhaps the most alarming threat the American people have ever faced. GUARDIAN readers have been alarmed before, always to good purpose.

We ask you to read carefully, then move—in your organization, your union, your community, as suggested on p. 3, to defeat this monstrous scheme.

THE EDITORS

Whearty did not stop at the first 12,000 victims. He noted 9,105 more in government files who could be convicted only by the use of "confidential informants." On the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations are 162 groups, most of them so-called "communist fronts," with thousands of supporters. The House Un-American Activities Committee has estimated the "subversive" population at a million. J. Edgar Hoover guesses 5,000,000.

GET THE LAWYERS! How can a government get so many people in a short time? **Only by robbing them of their right to defend themselves, only by imprisoning, persecuting and intimidating their legal defenders. Remove the lawyers and the victims stand defenseless.**

The Foley Square trial took nine months, and the defense lawyers were sentenced to prison for contempt when they used all legal means to protect their clients. The two Alger Hiss trials took months. Harry Bridges' trial went into its fifth month; two defense lawyers were sentenced for contempt. Noted civil rights lawyers were barred from defending the Trenton Six, from a New Haven trial.

RECIPE FOR FRAME-UP: With 12,000 or 21,000 or 1,000,000 people to try, the Justice Dept. would have a problem. Even with 50 special prosecutors and 50 judges, allowing a week for each trial, the yield would be only 2,500 cases a year. Clearly the program cannot permit more than one day, or half a day, for each trial.

Should the Smith Act be thrown out, the new Mundt-Nixon bill could replace it, might even be more efficient (see Mundt bill story, p. 3.) Register as a "Communist" and be convicted; don't register, and be convicted. The government could get you coming or going—or standing still. **The end result of either method could be summary trials or no trials at all. Simply arrest and automatic conviction: this is the law, this is the list, you're on the list—guilty. . .**

SMASH THE PATTERN: This is the total pattern now in the works. It is the drive to destroy progressives and American democracy. **It can be defeated only by angry people in the villages, towns and cities demanding an immediate end to the attack on freedom.**

Read the suggestions for action on p. 3. Then move. **There is not much time.**

Can it happen here?

Hoover's man gives timetable for wholesale 'subversive' trials

THE U.S. government's timetable for wholesale trials of "subversive" people was placed before a House Appropriations subcommittee on Jan. 12 by Raymond P. Whearty, Acting Assistant Attorney General.

His assignment was to justify the Justice Dept. budget requests for the fiscal year which begins next July 1. His duties in the Criminal Division enabled him to speak with authority on plans for criminal prosecution. (Whearty himself attracted attention last year as the prosecutor of Judith Coplon in her Washington espionage trial.)

The following are excerpts from Whearty's testimony as he was being questioned by Rep. John J. Rooney (D-N.Y.):

Rooney: With regard to the Internal Security Section, your chart shows there are pending at the end of the first six months of this fiscal year 21,105 cases. What sort of matters are those?

Whearty: They fall into various classifications. Some are cases involving violation of criminal statutes; by that I mean treason cases, espionage cases . . .

Rooney: What sort of cases make up the bulk of the 21,105 cases?

Whearty: The bulk of the cases involve subversive activity as applied to individuals or organizations. By that I mean persons who are active members of the Communist Party and similar organizations, or who appear to be acting in concert with Russian interests . . .

Rooney: I am still at a loss to understand the large figure, 21,105 cases pending.

Whearty: Let me explain it in this way, sir. The Federal Bureau of Investigation furnishes to the Department and to the Internal Security Section reports on individuals engaged in subversive activities. I would say that those reports come in in volumes ranging from 20 to 200 per day. They involve different individuals. Each one has to be read and screened to determine whether there is any action required, criminal or otherwise . . .

Rooney: The figure 21,105 represents the number of reports . . .

Whearty: No, sir. They represent the number of subjects covered by the reports whether those subjects be by individuals or organizations.

I am trying to illustrate the amount of work, not the number of cases, that might be involved in any one of them. I should also say that with respect to many of these persons engaged in subversive activities, such as the Communist case in New York, in line with our appearance before the committee last year, there is a program of extensive suits to prosecute members of the Communist Party who can be shown to be sympathetic and appreciative of its views. We prosecute them as individuals under the Smith Act.

I will call your attention to the fact that in New York the defendants in the Communist trials have been directed to file their briefs before the Circuit Court of Appeals by May 1, which happens to be May Day, although I do not suppose the court considered that angle of it, but if they fail to appeal then their plea is going to be dismissed. The meaning of that is that the appeal is going to be argued in this term of court.

I feel that if the case is decided in the lower court, it will be in the Supreme Court of the United States next fall. I cannot conceive of the Supreme Court . . . not taking this case, and we will have an ultimate decision one way or the other. If the government is sustained in the Supreme Court, it will be about the fiscal year 1951 when that program will come up. That is the work load which we must look forward to as possible, and indeed, very probable.

Rooney: Of the 21,105 cases now pending, how many of them would you say depend upon the outcome of the Communist trial in New York?

Whearty: Roughly 12,000.

Rooney: What about the others?

Whearty: The others are cases in which action may or may not be possible . . . There are a number of cases in the department which are perfectly good trial cases, but can't be proven for the reason that the sole witnesses to the cases are confidential informants and cannot be used as witnesses and those cases have to be canceled out . . .

Dont Buy MEAT Aug 9th–16th
CONSUMERS & BUTCHERS PROTEST HIGH PRICES
Dont Buy MEAT Aug 9th–16th PROTEST HIGH MEAT PRICES!
Protest High Prices!

ARE THEY ON J. EDGAR HOOVER'S LIST?
In Senator Mundt's America this would be a criminal action

What you must do

FIRST thing to remember is that most members of Congress return to their home districts for the spring recess. Away from the hysterical climate of Washington, they are likely to listen closely, especially when their constituents (meaning you) are mad enough to vote against them.

SPECIAL TO ILLINOIS READERS: Senate majority leader Scott Lucas of Illinois can halt the Mundt bill singlehanded. He WILL halt it if the 12,000 Illinois readers of this paper inform him NOW that they will vote against him in November if he doesn't.

Wherever you are, get in touch with your senator and let him know you expect him to kill this bill if it comes to the Senate floor.

TO ALL: Visit your Congressman, preferably with a delegation of local citizens. Tell him that if he's interested in preserving the American way, the best way to do it is to support the Marcantonio bill to repeal the Smith Act (H.R. 7383, now in the House Judiciary Committee.)

These are the first jobs to be done, in every community. It's important to see your legislators — particularly the senators. In addition, letters to the editor of your home town paper are extremely effective. Subscribers are to publishers what voters are to politicians. Remember this next time you read an editorial that burns you up.

Work with your Progressive Party, labor and civic organizations.

The fight against it is growing

Mundt's new police-state bill: what it means

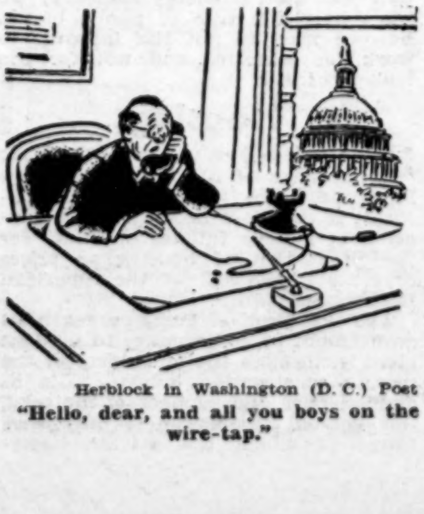
The new Mundt bill is the pattern for a noose that could be fitted to the neck of any individual belonging to any group, not because that individual was guilty of a provable act of subversion, but because he was capable of being singled out for the mere act of belonging to a minority organization.

THE San Francisco **Chronicle**, a conservative newspaper, printed the above words in an editorial March 9. Its opposition to the bill joined it with such other newspapers as the Cleveland **Plain Dealer, Christian Science Monitor**, Denver **Post**, Philadelphia **Inquirer** and Atlanta **Constitution.**

The new Mundt bill has drawn fire from a host of organizations including the Communist Party and Americans for Democratic Action, the Baptist Ministers Conference and the Jewish War Veterans, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Civil Rights Congress.

THEY WORK IN SECRET: The bill (S. 2311) is the product of months of hush-hush work. It is the comeback attempt of the 1948 Mundt-Nixon police-state bill, which died amid the angry cries of outraged citizens. If the new one is allowed to pass, these things would happen:

- All groups on "subversive" lists would be labelled "Communist political organization" or "Communist-front organization."
- It would be held unlawful "for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the U.S. of a totalitarian dictatorship." Penalties for this vague crime range up to ten years in prison and $10,000 fine.
- No member of a "Communist political organization" could obtain a passport or work for the government.
- All suspected organizations would have to register with the Attorney General and label air mail and radio broadcasts "disseminated by a Communist organization."
- Power to designate organizations or individuals as "Communist" would rest with a three-member Subversive Activities Control Board appointed by the President.



Herblock in Washington (D.C.) Post

"Hello, dear, and all you boys on the wire-tap."

REMEMBER THE WRATH: The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the bill on March 4. The vote was 8-1. Only Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) opposed it. In his minority report he said: "The political party which enacted the Alien and Sedition Laws soon met the wrath of the people . . . I fervently hope that reason will prevail over hysteria in the Senate . . . when the time comes to vote upon this measure."

In the House, Rep. Richard Nixon (R-Cal.) introduced a copy of the Mundt bill. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) called it a "legislative blueprint for fascism in America." It was, he said, "designed to make the expression of dissenting political views a crime and to shackle by thought control millions of Americans in trade union, church, community, political and veterans' organizations."

With revelation of the government's plan to round up thousands of people under the Smith Act, the new Mundt bill becomes even more sinister. Should the Smith Act be voided, witch-hunters would want the Mundt measure as a substitute.

Marcantonio took Congressional leadership in both fights. He introduced a bill to repeal the Smith Act (H.R. 7383) and asked for pressure on the House Judiciary Committee to get it to the floor.

A STEP FORWARD: In the courts a significant advance was made in the fight against "subversive" listings. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which contended that the Attorney General had no rignt to list it without hearing or appeal. Should the court uphold this view. the entire "loyalty" program of the Truman Administration would fall under the shadow of illegality.

The opposition of many diverse groups to the new Mundt-Nixon bill indicates a growing awareness that "communism" is but a whipping-term in the widening hysteria. Henry A. Wallace characterized the situation thus when the 12 Communist leaders were indicted in 1948:

"Defense of the civil rights of the Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, natioial, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

Henry A. Wallace and I. F. Stone

Progressive capitalism or socialism? What the Progressives need

Following the Progressive Party convention in Chicago, I. F. Stone, Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Daily Compass, wrote a series of articles criticizing the "progressive capitalist" theories of Henry Wallace. He called the party's position "anemic" in failing to recognize the sick U. S. economy's need for socialist remedies.

The articles stirred wide and constructive discussion in New York progressive circles. The Daily Compass then published an illuminating interview with Henry Wallace by Stephen Fischer, in which Wallace expounded his ideas about progressive capitalism.

Here are some of the things Stone and Wallace had to say. The brief excerpts we are able to publish show a considerable area of agreement between the positions of the columnist and the Progressive Party leader.

Henry Wallace

The meaning of progressive capitalism

NO matter what we do in the United States, we shall have more and more socialism.

. . . I am not worried about socialism so long as there is freedom to engage in the research and technological experimentation so necessary for expanding production.

•

Progressive capitalism is that reconciliation between fundamental American democracy and modern technology which will make possible continuous full employment and expanding production without government ownership of all the means of production.

•

Progressive capitalism certainly would not rule out government ownership of railroads, coal mines or steel mills. But . . . the objective would be to leave as large a segment of the economy as possible under private direction and yet eliminate the causes of unhealthy "boom or bust."

In brief, progressive capitalism is an American adaptation and extension of the "mixed economy" approach of the Scandinavian countries. It is a nondoctrinaire effort to use whatever mechanism will produce most and distribute most widely and cheaply without accentuating the extremes of the business cycle. . . . Co-operatives should be used where they can do the job most economically; big corporations where they can do best; small business where it is best suited.

•

I started working on the reactionary capitalists in face-to-face conferences of one sort or another in the late twenties. They had a brief moment of being willing to co-operate in 1933. Again they co-operated from 1943 to 1945 for the purpose of winning the war.

. . . The capitalist system can be made to work, but thus far I have seen no indications that the top leaders are willing to make the necessary adjustments.

. . . The next depression is likely to be severe enough to make them even more willing to co-operate than in 1933. Otherwise, extensive government ownership of many key industries is inevitable.

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New Dealism was patching up an old car that broke down along the road, and then picking up gadgets at each filling station.

. . . The New Deal furnished a great lift to the United States and to the world. But I suspect that it was a failure in that it did not end serious unemployment. Progressive capitalism must tackle economic problems . . . from a more fundamental point than the New Deal was able to do.

. . . In saying this, I am not critical of the New Deal but merely indicating that at that time we were able to deal only with superficial phenomena.

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It is impossible to establish progressive capitalism until the cold war is brought to an end. The Democrats can bring about full employment only by a huge arms program. . . . Since 1941 there has been full employment only because of huge shipments abroad and heavy expenditures for munitions and planes.

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Undoubtedly both the Democrats and Republicans will adopt platforms which indicate they believe in progressive capitalism. There is no way to prevent either party from stealing our ideas. I hope they not only steal our ideas, but try to make good on them.

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The greatest obstacle to putting over progressive capitalism is the lack of progressive capitalists.

I. F. Stone

Progressives need a dose of socialism

THE world has been moving toward socialism for two generations . . . Thus I plead for a strong infusion of socialism into the anemic veins of the Progressives. They're not kidding anybody but themselves anyway.

•

Capitalism can go on succeeding only if private business can be fitted into a system of social controls and planning effective enough to satisfy the demand for full employment without being so onerous as to crush genuine enterprise wherever it exists.

•

A pragmatic American approach to social problems would say: "This business is a racket whose fixed prices are exploiting the competitive industries. . . . We must try either to break the trust by a government yardstick plant or nationalize the industry . . ."

A pragmatic approach would say of another industry: "It works well and gives good service. Let's leave well enough alone." It might say of a third: ". . . Here's a businessman with a novel idea (let us say, for housing) but the banks are hostile and dubious. Let's provide him with government credit for his experiment."

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"The big job on the domestic front in the United States," Wallace told the Progressive Party convention, "is to convert our present reactionary capitalism into progressive capitalism which is willing to plan effectively with government to prevent depression by expanding the peacetime production and trade of the entire world—including Russia and the new China."

This is pure unadulterated pie-in-the-sky. Wallace could hold prayer meetings in every Chamber of Commerce in the U. S. without ever getting that kind of conversion.

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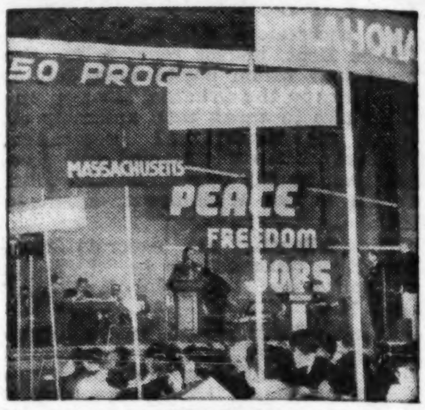
The real lesson of the Roosevelt period was that the Keynesian approach is not enough, that compensatory spending and public works cannot maintain full employment, that measures of economic planning and in certain areas public ownership are minimum necessities for full employment. . . .



Wallace's unwillingness to speak frankly or inability to think clearly about the crucial deficiencies of so-called "free enterprise" are contributing to . . . confusion.

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To ask the businessman to "co-operate wholeheartedly" in a peace program . . . is asking too much of human beings . . . To ask him to accept a peace instead of a war program is to ask him to give up the inflationary profits of an arms race for a system of planning for full output at home which would cut down his freedom of action and his rate of profit.

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The function of third parties in the American two-party system has historically been to sell unpopular, new and necessary ideas, to make them familiar and safe enough to be taken up by conventional parties. It is this function which the Progressive Party is not fulfilling.

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Can capitalism be progressive? Yes. But only by progressing steadily toward socialism.

Important resolutions adopted by the Progressive Party convention

The H-Bomb

THE H-bomb offers a political challenge. The most die-hard opponents of the Progressive Party recognize that there is no alternative to genuine negotiations except annihilation. It is now up to the Progressive Party to prove that it can work with any and all groups in joint effort to outlaw the bomb and begin negotiations for a peaceful world.

The Progressive Party adopts the following program of action:

1. The PP in each community should urge prominent community leaders to address individual letters to the President, Secretary of State Acheson, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Connally, and their own senators and congressmen, demanding outlawing of the H-bomb, the A-bomb and all other weapons of mass destruction, and immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union.
2. Locally, the PP should associate itself with other groups in initiating conferences to demand outlawing of the H-bomb and other weapons of mass destruction.
3. In cooperation with other groups, we should undertake forums, lectures, meetings and petition campaigns throughout the states, pointing out the dangers of the present program and the need for an alternative policy of peace.
4. Wherever people from the churches, Negro, youth, women's, fraternal and civic organizations are prepared to associate themselves in an effort to outlaw the H-bomb and other weapons of mass destruction, the PP should aid in the formation of broad peace committees.

Atom for Peace

The people of the world learned of the large-scale release of atomic energy for the first time when they saw the city of Hiroshima destroyed by an American bomb. Now the government of the United States has thrown our resources into the development of a new super-bomb. But the power of modern science and the skill of our country deserve better witness than the glare of weapons designed to bring death to cities. American resources must be spent, not on destruction, but on winning from the atom the light, the heat, the industrial power, the increase of crops, the medical advancement, that lie within it.

Then, we and all nations can move forward towards the exploitation of the new energy for life, and not for death. Let us replace the race for atomic bombs by a friendly competition for atomic energy at peace. The United States has the resources and the skill which could do the job, if we would. The people of the United States now own our atomic energy industry; we must keep the title in public hands, but we need to put the industry to work for ourselves and not for the makers of war.

Housing

HOUSING is one of the three basic necessities of life. The Progressive Party maintains that it is a public utility. It is therefore necessary that government assume full responsibility for the production of housing at prices or rents which 90% of the American families can afford.

The Progressive Party urges that government be given power to produce directly, through the machinery of the private construction industry, and as direct lender and supplier of material, the required new housing in any price range in which the private home-building field fails to meet the required quotas.

Pending such time as the home-building industry can begin to serve the housing need, government must:

1. Provide a public subsidized housing program for at least 500,000 dwelling units per year, for the next ten years, for low income families, at rentals of from $20 to $40 per month.
2. Set up a public non-subsidized or self-sustaining housing program of at least 500,000 dwelling units per year for the next ten years, at rentals of from $35 to $75 per month.
3. Provide loans or guarantees of insurance of loans to private non-profit cooperatives and Limited Dividend housing, and an adequate farm housing program.

The cost of this emergency program, which entails only the cash subsidy for the low-cost housing program, would be $100,000,000 for the first year. This would increase progressively until, at the completion of the total program of 5,000,000 dwelling units at the end of the tenth year, it will be $1,000,000,000 a year, after which it will begin to decrease year by year as the loans are being repaid.

ROUNDUP

WASHINGTON

LUNATICS AT LARGE

Everybody and his sister is a red

THE setting: A subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in session, chaired by Sen. Millard E. Tydings (D-Md.). The klieg lights are lit; the newsreel cameramen are set to grind; the still cameramen have the flashbulbs on the ready.

The time: 1950, a political campaign year in which the Republicans charge that their Democratic comrades in the cold war have coddled communists, particularly in the State Dept.

The hero: Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisc.). In earlier years in his home state he had been a judge, almost, but not quite, disbarred for "an abuse of judicial power." When he ran for political office while holding his job on the Wisconsin bench, the State Supreme Court declared: "No valid excuse or justification can be offered for the defendant's violation of the oath which he took . . . as circuit judge." The court added: "The defendant is guilty of an infraction of the moral code."

In February the Senator, speaking at Wheeling, W.Va., said: "The State Department . . . is thoroughly infested with communists . . . I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

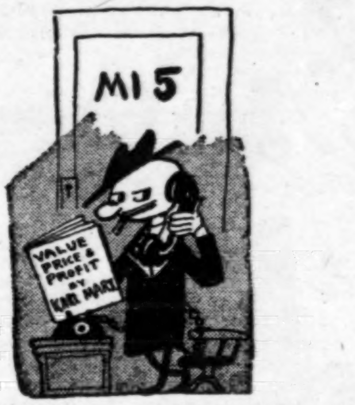
He has been called to present his testimony formally to the subcommittee. The build-up promised "startling revelations." As he begins to testify, assistants hand out mimeographed copies of his lines before he utters them. Cameras grind, flashbulbs explode.

The action: Sen. McCarthy reveals his card-carrying or sympathetic "communists." First is Dorothy Kenyon, 62-year-old lawyer and former U.S. delegate to the UN commission on the status of women. McCarthy says she has belonged to "at least 28 communist-front organizations." She appears, denies all of it vehemently, and says: "Sen. McCarthy is an unmitigated liar."

DOROTHY KENYON

The language was clear

Next target is U.S. ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup. He carries no card, says McCarthy, but has displayed "an unusual affinity for communist causes." "Absolutely without substance," says Jessup, hurrying home from his Far Eastern mission to assure anti-communists of that area that the U. S. won't let them down.


MI 5
VALUE PRICE & PROFIT BY KARL MARX

Daily Worker, London

"Listen, Sen. Micklebuster, wot's it worth if I hand over the Kremlin's top secret?"

The sharpest barbs are thrown at John S. Service, career diplomat repeatedly investigated, repeatedly cleared. The prime charge against him is a lack of sympathy for Chiang Kai-shek. Service and his family were en route to his new post in India when McCarthy aimed at him. No sooner did he land than his superiors summoned him back. But Deputy Under-Secretary of State John E. Peurifoy calls McCarthy's revival of "dead, discredited, disproved" charges against Service a "shame and a disgrace."

The Technique: Political observers thought the Senator was following a tactic known in military aviation as the "near-miss." A direct hit on a ship may do less damage than a bomb exploded sufficiently close to the ship to add water pressure to the bomb's force and so cave the ship in. The real target seemed to be Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who had made himself vulnerable by refusing to disown his friend Alger Hiss. Through him the Republicans might attack the Administration as communist-tainted without disagreeing with it on any major issue of the cold war.

View from Key West

While McCarthy performed, President Truman was flat on his back in his cabin aboard the Presidential yacht Williamsburg, too forlorn in the rough seas even to don a flamboyant shirt. He was proceeding to Key West, Fla., for yet another rest, with his aides and the corps of correpondents. It was his first since December. He was to be gone a month. His aides said a review of foreign policy was more easily had in Florida. There was a lot of paper work being done, the N.Y. **Times** reported, late at night—in spades and diamonds.

FREEDOMS

MARZANI

Time for pardon

CARL ALDO MARZANI was an early victim of the Washington witch-hunt. He had won wartime commendations for government service. Later he had made a hard-hitting labor film, **Deadline for Action,** for the United Electrical Workers. Then he was arrested on charges of fraud for having denied in 1946 that he was a Communist in 1939. The verdict was guilty, the sentence one to three years.

The Marzani case was started by one State Dept. official telling his version of a private conversation. Twice the Supreme Court was asked to reverse the verdict on the ground that such evidence could not prove fraud. Twice the appeal lost by 4-4 tie votes.

Last month Marzani had been in prison a year, was eligible for parole. His wife, incurably ill with multiple sclerosis, and his two children, needed him. Work awaited him. All parole conditions were satisfied. Gen. William J. Donovan, Marzani's former boss in OSS, supported the parole application.

THE GENTLEMEN REGRET: Then Mrs. Marzani received word from the Parole Board: ". . . regret to have to form you . . . application denied." Mrs. Marzani said: "That he can be kept in jail is a serious reflection not only of the great will to oppression by the present war of hysteria but also of the hypocrisy of those bodies which claim to be dispensing justice."

CARL MARZANI

A touching note of regret

The fight for parole will go on. Urging a flood of petitions to President Truman, N. Y. **Compass** columnist I. F. Stone, chairman of the Committee in Defense of Carl Marzani, said: "Surely, after a year in jail, if there were ever any justice in jailing a man when four of the highest judges in the land felt he should go free, such justice has been fulfilled."

BE ONE, BRING ONE (see p. 1)

BRIDGES

The trial ends

THE jury of eight women and four men was ready to decide the case of Harry Bridges as the GUARDIAN went to press. Among the many instructions given by Judge George B. Harris, this one stood out: "You are instructed that a witness false in one part of his testimony is to be distrusted in others." That would disqualify most of the gov-

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

Years of the skittish locust

EPPERSON school had one room and sat in a wildwood. One teacher taught 12 grades. She taught all of us, from bottom to top, the same thing: the Golden Rule and that America is the land of the free, to secure which we licked the Redcoats.

I suppose all this gave me a fixation. I still like America the land of the free and the Golden Rule.

I think the people who live in Wisconsin must be very much ashamed of Senator McCarthy. I am ashamed of him and I only fish in Wisconsin, up around Tomahawk, once in a while. We have a Senator from our state who used to show himself as smug and small and mean and reckless and inconsiderate of others as Senator McCarthy has been showing himself to be. We used to sit around the stoves in the stores in winter and despise him.

I DARESAY that among the scores of organizations labeled "fronts" by the Attorney General, by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the California Un-American Activities Committee, whose names have been ticked off by Senator McCarthy in his valorous campaign against the "poor security risks" in the State Dept., there are some whose letterheads I have been on, whose petitions I may have signed, whose meetings I have attended once in a while. I have never bothered to find out.

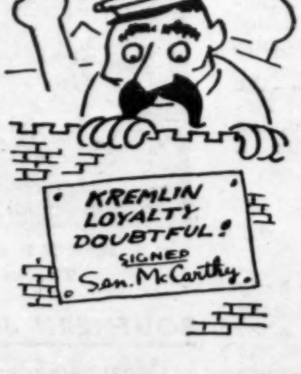
It is entirely possible that this group or that group in that listing, with which I may have been "associated in one way or another," is or has been Communist-dominated, Red-infiltrated and Moscow-directed. I have never inquired.

When such groups have talked peace, I have talked peace with them—as I would with our Chamber of Commerce. When they have urged civil rights, I have urged civil rights with them—as I would with the Baptist Church. And would again.

THIS is the land of the free. In it I was for many years with a group called the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. I was there when it was born at a White House luncheon and I was its chairman for a decade, though not a very able one.

In all that time the committee stood and worked for free elections, for nothing but free elections—not for any other cause or thing, but only for free elections in the United States of America. I hear that this organization was put on one of the "subversive" lists (the California one, I believe) as a "front." I still cannot conceive it to be "disloyal" to be for free elections in the land of the free.

If Joe Stalin himself is—as he may be for all I know and for reasons best known to himself—for free elections in the land of the free, I still am for them. And for all that I still would be, I think, as fair a security risk as Third Undersecretary of State, and at least as good a Third Undersecretary, as Senator McCarthy would. I pay my taxes. too. I know where Madagascar is.


KREMLIN LOYALTY DOUBTFUL!
SIGNED
Sen. McCarthy.

I AM for peace and equal rights before the law and I will speak for these things before any company of any description going my way, or indeed the other way; and who should lisp "un-American" at me for this I would think him a liar and a fool to boot, with a clear conscience.

I think Senator McCarthy waving his "Red" lists with synthetic horror is purely silly and a disgrace to the people of Wisconsin who, like other people, are mainly decent at heart.

I am always waiting for these petulant times to pass and for people to do as they would be done by. I suppose learned doctors would say Epperson school was my cultural womb and that I can't help trying to go back to it. Well . . . that is what they told me, that this is the land of the free; and life is too short to give up such a splendid idea after so long a time.

The Farmers Union convention

There was unity on the big issue: Brannan Plan

Special to the GUARDIAN

DENVER, COLO.

WHATEVER the differences within the organization—and there were several—they did not show on the floor of the mid-century four-day convention of the National Farmers Union which ended here March 8.

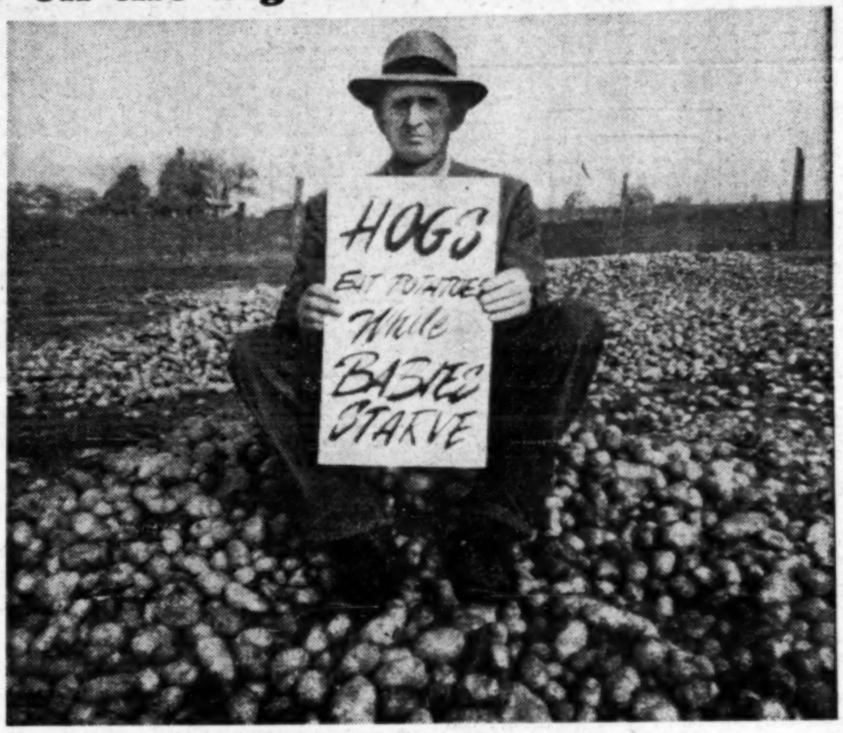
One major issue united the more than 500 delegates from 22 states: passage of the Brannan farm program "as a means both of maintaining a stable income to agriculture and of affording reasonable prices to consumers."

Described by FU president James G. Patton as "captain of the ship" (but "this time the FU is not missing the boat"), Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan himself was the featured guest speaker and got a union award for meritorious service. For the present sliding-scale system of price supports, which he called "about as far off the beam as it's possible to get," Brannan put the responsibility squarely upon Congress. The sliding scale was "a starving-out process for farm families who happen to be short of land resources, cash and credit"; the resulting "concentration of power in agriculture," he warned, "would be even more threatening to American ideals than is concentration of industry."

PARTICIPATION, PLEASE: Peace was another issue uniting the delegates. Patton called upon the U. S. to "strike a bargain" with the Soviet Union "so that all of us can lay down our arms.

"Somehow," he said, "I believe we will be able to find a way to live in this world with peoples who differ in viewpoint as to type of economy and special systems." The lead was up to the U. S. to end the cold war "on the basis of mutuality of interest through world development along peaceful lines."

World development to him meant an expansion of President Truman's Point Four (which the convention endorsed) through channels of the United Nations. He denounced the Mundt-Nixon bill and said the cold war is being used "to take away our civil liberties. . . . The thing to fear about government is not the government itself, but our failure to participate actively enough to maintain our democratic form of government."



Hogs, yes—babies, no

In California a farmer sits on a pile of surplus potatoes spread out to dry for stock feed. The sign tells the farmer's feelings. No more words are needed.

WEAK ON LABOR: If there was a debit side to the convention, on it belonged the absence from the program of an adequate plank concerning the need of farmer-labor unity. While demanding repeal of Taft-Hartley and referring to the community of interests between farmers and the labor movement, delegates took no note of the active and promising beginnings of a direct farmer-labor alliance last summer and fall.

Also on the debit side belonged the explicit endorsement, for the first time in the union's existence, of the "free enterprise system"—an endorsement tending to weaken its traditional stand, repeated this year, for "relentless war" against the growth of monopoly.

Apart from pure farm problems, the convention called for reduction in military expenditures, greater soil and forest conservation, the St. Lawrence Seaway, Valley Authorities for the Columbia and Missouri Rivers, and Social Security extension to include farmers and farm labor.

WRONG MEN: Angus McDonald, assistant legislative secretary, denounced the 81st Congress as "selling the people down the river—we elected some wrong people in 1948." The political action program was that "candidates must be judged, elected and defeated on a basis of their records in light of the FU program."

Of atomic weapons the program said: "The big new bombs are making brothers of all men. The choice now lies between brotherhood in life and brotherhood in death." The H-bomb was "race suicide"; the peaceful development of atomic energy would be "the achievement of mankind's golden age."

Top officers of the organization were re-elected without opposition.

•

From farmsteads around the country this petition, sponsored by the National Farmers Union, is being mailed to President Harry Truman:

We are America's farming people—families who till our lands, sow our seeds and reap our crops so that the people of the world may eat. Life—and not death—is implicit in all we do. Peace—and not war—is our overriding necessity. Now we are confronted with the ultimate weapon, the Hydrogen Monster, which—even as we build it—threatens to annihilate every living thing on this planet.

We will not forfeit our future to the Hydrogen or any other kind of bomb, nor will we accept any notion that war is inevitable. We are not voiceless puppets. We can and will stand upright and walk and live with dignity in a world of peace.

We have the inspiration of democratic yesterdays, the aspiration for much greater tomorrows. We will not let these go. We pray for success in all our efforts for peace.

(Continued from preceding page)

ernment's key witnesses.

For more than four months Defense Attorneys Vincent Hallinan and James MacInnis had pointed out the admitted perjurers among the U. S. witnesses. Although they swore that everything they said about Bridges was true, many were trapped. One broke down on the stand, admitted lying in the Bridges case.

CAN IT WORK? To Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, accused of perjury and conspiracy to commit perjury in 1945 denials that Bridges was a Communist, the question was: Would the U. S. and all the enemies of the militant longshoremen's union succeed this time where they had failed thrice before in smashing the union's leadership?

For government prosecutors the question was: Can the witch-hunt formula work this time? If it failed, the developing pattern would suffer a crushing blow.

CHRISTOFFEL

Time for bail

HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL was an early labor victim of the Washington witch-hunt. Convicted of perjury after a red-baiting session of the House Labor Committee in 1947, the former United Auto Workers leader at Allis-Chalmers won a new trial from the U. S. Supreme Court. He was freed on bail pending appeal.

Christoffel was tried again, convicted again. He is again appealing. But this time the climate is worse. Judge F. Dickinson Letts, who sentenced Christoffel to two to six years, has refused to grant bail. Christoffel is in prison in Washington, D. C.

The Christoffel Defense Committee asks that demands for reasonable bail be sent to Judge Letts, Washington District Court, and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. "Christoffel is labor's first Taft-Hartley victim," says the committee.

HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL
The hunt goes on

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Virginia sleeps on, Mississippi awakes

A YEAR ago in a courtroom at Martinsville, Va., seven Negro men heard themselves sentenced to death for the alleged raping of Mrs. Ruby Floyd, white. The jury was all-white. The defendants' court-appointed lawyers put up no fight. Mrs. Floyd was hazy about identifications, even about the number of men who "attacked" her. Some of the seven had "confessed" when told they might be handed over to a mob.

When the case came to light, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People provided counsel for an appeal. The executions were twice postponed.

The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals heard arguments against the lynch atmosphere and speed of the Martinsville trial. Last week it ruled that the lower court made "no reversible error." In layman's language it meant the men will die. A final appeal will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

BETTER BE WHITE: Samuel Taylor was a Negro farmer in Belleville, Va. Frank Clayton led a two-carload white lynch mob who hacked Taylor to death. Early this month a jury convicted Clayton of second-degree murder. He was sentenced to 20 years.

In Rome, Ga., a sheriff and his deputy were convicted of turning seven Negroes over to a mob for flogging. The two white men face maximum sentences of a year in prison and $1,000 fines. Sentences have been delayed while they appeal.

In Kosciusko, Miss., a jury declared Windol Whitt guilty of murdering three Negro children. His sentence: life.

JERSEY JUSTICE

No change

JUDGE Charles P. Hutchinson presided over New Jersey's Mercer County court when the Trenton Six were sentenced to death for a murder they could not have committed. His conduct of the trial brought sharp criticism from a higher court when the verdict was set aside and a new trial ordered. Judge Hutchinson barred O. John Rogge and other Civil Rights Congress lawyers from the new trial, over which he is to preside.

Last week Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll announced that Judge Hutchinson would be reappointed for another term on the bench.

BE ONE, BRING ONE (see p. 1)

LORDS OF THE AIR

Robeson can't speak

FOR her National Broadcasting Co. television show, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and son Elliott had picked three speakers: Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D-N.Y.), Perry Howard, Mississippi Republican, and Progressive Party co-chairman Paul Robeson. They were to discuss "The Negro in American Political Life."

PAUL ROBESON
Who owns the air?

The announcement was made on a

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

Sunday afternoon. Hearst's New York **Journal-American** denounced it. NBC vice president Charles R. Denny said Mrs. Roosevelt's announcement was "premature." There had been protests. Robeson would not appear.

Said an NBC spokesman: "We are doubtful that Robeson will ever appear on the NBC except under circumstances beyond our control. . . . If he were to become the accredited candidate of a political party, we might be forced to give him free time." Elliott Roosevelt was reported to feel that Robeson's appearance might "confuse the issue." Mrs. Roosevelt said her invitation to Robeson had been "misunderstood."

LET HIM SPEAK: While NBC representatives and liberals ducked in all directions, progressives fought. NBC switchboards were jammed with calls protesting the ban. (Every GUARDIAN staffer phoned, got his friends to do the same. NBC's number is CIrcle 7-8300; the address, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N.Y. 20, N.Y.) NBC bigshots indicated they might remove the ban if enough pressure were put on.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) announced he would introduce a bill to investigate such suppressions of free speech on the air. "It is high time," he said, "that the lords of the radio monopoly were taught that they do not own the air for their private profit and misuse."

WILL SHE? Novelist Howard Fast invited Mrs. Roosevelt to share a platform with Paul Robeson at a "shoulder-to-shoulder concert" called for Manhattan Center, N. Y. City, March 28. The concert will raise funds to finance the $2,000,000 damage suits brought by Peekskill victims against the state. Mrs. Roosevelt has not yet replied.

A spokesman for the Harlem Trade Union Council said: "You might find a Negro pushing a broom at NBC, but not in any other capacity."

BE ONE, BRING ONE (see p. 1)

LABOR

LEWIS TO MURRAY

The common enemy is the boss

LABOR'S biggest worry is the boss. That simple truth, stated majestically by John L. Lewis, shocked some union leaders engaged in running warfare with their rank and file.

Lewis made his point in a letter to Philip Murray, president of CIO and the United Steelworkers. He asked for "a mutual aid pact for common defense." He began his invitation this way: "During recent months each of our great unions has been engaged in a major conflict with the most powerful associated group of financial interests in America. The idea seems increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled one by one. This idea should be knocked on the head."

JOHN L. LEWIS
The suitor was rejected

STRONG TALK: Lewis talked from strength. The Mine Workers had demonstrated, for all the country to see, the impotence of Taft-Hartley when faced with the solidarity of workingmen. To miners the demonstration paid off in a raise of 70c a day, an increase in the welfare fund of 30c a ton, and union security. No union battling its rank and file had chalked up a record remotely comparable.

John L. Lewis had further embarrassed the powers of CIO by offering to lend the striking CIO United Auto Workers at Chrysler $1,000,000. The spectre of solidarity frightened them.

UAW President Walter Reuther rejected the offer explaining that his union could accept only gifts. Philip Murray said "no useful purpose could be served" by such a pact.

Auto workers want bigger slice of record melon

The strike of 89,000 United Auto Workers members continued at Chrysler. It began Jan. 25 when workers demanded a 10c-an-hour wage raise. President Walter Reuther persuaded them to take the 10c in pensions or wages as the company might decide. Chrysler said flatly no.

The 245,000 workers at General Motors were drafting demands which include a 9c-an-hour wage raise, $125-a-month pensions, a comprehensive medical plan, union shop, higher vacation and severance pay, triple time for holidays, double time for Sundays.

The rank and file were in no mood for compromise by their leaders. Last month they took a 2c-an-hour wage cut with their hands tied by Reuther's formula linking wages to a cost-of-living index.

Both Chrysler and GM announced all-time highs in profits for last year. Chrysler: $132,170,096,—49.4% over the 1948 take; GM: $656,434,232, 49% over 1948.

UAW settled for pension plans at Ford and Nash.

NMU: club-wielding Curranites freed

Five supporters of National Maritime Union president Joe Curran were brought before Magistrate Abner C. Surpless of Brooklyn, charged with using clubs and bats to beat their way into a rank-and-file meeting. The Magistrate announced his view that "whoever ran this meeting was hoping there would be trouble." Of witnesses produced by the rank and file Surpless said: "It will certainly affect my interpretation of any witness' credibility if I find he's a communist." When it was explained to him that the meeting had been called to name a slate to oppose Curran, and therefore Curran's supporters had not been invited, the judge wondered: "Has it come to pass in New York that a union has to meet in secret? This is disheartening to me."

He acquitted all five. But three others who appeared later were convicted of disorderly conduct. Magistrate Surpless said their hoodlumism was "disgusting to me." Still another Curran man, John Moriarty, an ex-convict, was acquitted.

BOOKS FOR SALE: In Texas City, Tex., Frank DiMartini, an NMU night dispatcher, and Herbert De Jesus, Galveston port patrolman, were arrested charged with selling fake union books at $200 apiece. Both are ardent Curran supporters. Di Martini, an ex-convict, has a police record dating back 20 years. Vice President Jack Lawrenson, rank-and-file leader, said union books were also on sale in 23rd St. bars in Manhattan.

Curran, himself, summoned NMU leaders to Washington to confer on abolition of the hiring hall. In his call for united effort he excluded as leftist the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the National Ass'n. of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

The rank-and-file plan to save the hiring hall is: strike now in all ports.

The cold war comes to Gloversville

CIO leaders join forces with the bosses against a brave band of leather workers

By Elmer Bendiner

THE 800 men in the tanneries of Gloversville, N. Y., wanted a raise. It was as simple as that back in July.

In the months that followed, they came up against the combined efforts of companies, labor boards, thugs, police, city hall, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. They tagged labor's friends and enemies for the whole country to see plainly.

Leather workers throughout the country had won four rounds of wage increases, but not the leather workers of Gloversville. Early in summer the International Fur and Leather Workers (CIO) asked for a 25c-an-hour raise. The answer of the 18 tanneries in the area, organized into the Fulton County Tanners Association, was a lockout.

The employers first tried to form a company union. It failed.

Then they called in the American Federation of Labor, hitherto unrepresented in Gloversville. Two AFL regional organizers came to Gloversville and began their organizing drive by conferring with the Tanners Council representatives in the Yates Hotel.

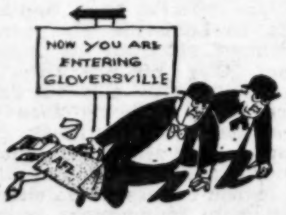
Word of the top-level conference spread swiftly and the regional organizers decamped.

ENTER RIEVE: The employers next turned to Emil Rieve of the CIO Textile Workers. On three successive contract renewals Rieve had declined to press for increases in either wages or pensions. He seemed a likely bet.

With the AFL still technically in the picture and with the arrival of the CIO Textile Workers on the scene, the companies called for a National Labor Relations Board election. The Fur Workers, having refused to submit Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits, was ineligible to appear on the NLRB ballot.

The International declared the need of the wage raise to be paramount. It urged the Gloversville Local to disaffiliate. The local set up shop as an independent. Its officers filed non-communist oaths. But the NLRB in an unprecedented decision ruled that though the law was complied with in every respect the local was in fact a front for a union that had not complied. It was ruled off the ballot.

VICE VERSA: The ballot listed the CIO Textile Workers, the AFL Leather Workers and "No Union." The companies ran large ads urging the workers: "Vote for a union." The workers who wanted to keep their own union had no choice but to vote: "No union." They did and beat the AFL 4 to 1, the CIO Textile Workers 3 to 1.


NOW YOU ARE ENTERING GLOVERSVILLE
AFL

The employers were on the run. One shop had already settled with the Independents. The nephew of another plant owner organized a company union called "The Adirondack Union." When he had a handful of men signed up, 17 shops hurried to sign contracts with him, but the contracts did not start the shop to work again.

CIO AGAIN: It was December by that time. The CIO convention had just closed with a firm determination to convert the organization into a political instrument in the cold war.

Negotiations proceeded not with the discredited Textile Workers Union but with the CIO national officers. In February the deal broke into print for the first time in the employers' magazine **Leather & Shoes:** "National CIO expected to declare war openly against Independent Leather Workers Union. . . . CIO organizer now in Glove Cities reported to have signed up nearly 300 workers at 15 or 17 members plants of Tanners' Assn. Drive launched with full knowledge of Philip Murray, CIO president who has marked IFLWU for expulsion from CIO." The IFLWU is a paid-up affiliate of CIO. No charges have been heard, no hearings scheduled.

Meanwhile the employers' offensive took other turns. Shops were opened, scabs brought in. Thugs were rushed from nearby cities, deputized and armed with clubs. Men and women on the picket lines were beaten and jailed. Police prowl cars trailed strike leaders wherever they went.

GLOVERSVILLE

STATE OF SIEGE: Responding to pressure from newspapers and public officials, grocery stores and finance companies clamped down on credit; plumbing companies yanked pipes from the homes of defaulting strikers. The men had no reserves to start with. Since 1946 there has been 40% unemployment in the shops. They were hungry and desperate. For 10 months the only help they had was unemployment insurance checks and food and funds from the IFLWU. Bitter but beaten, a few drifted back to the shops.

CIO Field Representative Peter Aversa (expelled from the Farm Equipment Workers Union) and John J. Mauriello, sub-regional director of CIO, moved in on the town. They gathered together the handful who scabbed and issued them a charter under the name of the United Tannery Workers Union, CIO.

CIO demanded no improvements or security but only that the men resume work. The men who went back now work with none of the gains their union won for them in the last seven years.

The tannery workers of Gloversville have had the book thrown at them. But the great majority are still on strike. The big plants are still closed: CIO officials and deputies, however armed, cannot run them.

'Now is the time for all good men and women ...' — a dramatic history

FALL, 1948
Enter, the Nipper.

BIG HAND
"Here's my five!"—Miss Lib.

FIRST AID
FEPC
PEEKSKILL
TAFT-HARTLEY
UN-AMERICAN COM

FOLLOW ME!
Nothing like a good fight.

WINTER, 1949
Valley Forge on Murray St.

SUB
SUB
SUB
SUB
SUB

SPRING SONG
Love and cash conquer all.

West Coast wire

How the political battle shapes up in California

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES

CALIFORNIA politics has been traditionally a thing of color and daring. It nurtured the onetime fighting Republican liberal, Hiram Johnson. It promoted what terrified newspapers labeled "pension schemes." Time and again, with natural ease, it slid the golden state into the Roosevelt column.

But last week California politicos were gazing wistfully over their shoulders. The 1950 campaign, so far as the old parties were concerned, was shrouded in cautious and correct gestures to the cold war.

At times it appeared that Republicans and Democrats were electioneering, not so much against each other, as against an invisible third contender, known to Republican Gov. Earl Warren as "socialism" and to his Democratic rival, James Roosevelt, as "communism."

THEY'RE AGAINST SIN: Never a word spoke Warren in his opening reelection campaign statement on such issues as unemployment, relief or pensions. He said, however, that he was for "social progress."

James Roosevelt echoed: "I repudiate all communist support if it should be tendered." He added that he'd have none of any "splinter" group backing. This last was an indirect reference to the Independent Progressive Party, which had offered Roosevelt no backing. It should have mollified rightwingers in Roosevelt's party, but no one could be sure it had. Reports persisted that President Truman's closest ally in California Democratic circles, rancher-oil man E. George Luckey, was toying with the notion of supporting Warren and Rep. Richard Nixon for the U. S. Senate.

WHAT STATE IS THIS? Political back-pedaling was hindering self-conscious Democrats even in the Congressional races. In Los Angeles' 12th district, Steve Zetterberg's ludicrous campaign against "Vito Marcantonio, pro-communist Congressman," served only to lure two other Democrats into the primaries against him. Both redbaited Zetterberg, while Republicans rallied around a single candidate.

On the brighter side, Zetterberg, like Roosevelt, was giving some attention to the real problems: the state's 600,000 jobless, pensions, school appropriations, mounting public opinion against loyalty oaths, hiked public utility rates.

REALISTIC APPROACH: IPP action on candidates was expected before the filing deadline, March 31. It was not anticipated IPP would buck Roosevelt or any other candidates pursuing reasonably realistic home-front programs. But it was felt the party might spark candidates for treasurer and secretary of state—partly to have a program vehicle and partly to insure the 3% of the June 6 votes legally necessary to stay on the California ballot.

Keen interest was displayed in the State Senate race against incumbent Jack B. Tenney, Republican witch-hunter. Tenney expected to face progressive Democrat Robert W. Kenny. But the Wallace-supporting ex-attorney-general is unpopular with right-wing Democrats, who have encouraged a third entry. He is Assemblyman Glenn Anderson, whose voting record is considered good by liberals and labor, but whose polling strength is considered inadequate to beat Tenney.

DOWNEY VS. DOUGLAS: Progressives appeared unlikely to have any part of the Democratic primary battle between U. S. Sen. Sheridan Downey and Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas, though the Democratic winner seemed in line for best wishes against Rep. Nixon.

By and large, the AFL and the rightwing CIO were supporting Democrats.

Strong movements destined to affect the election outcome were forming around several key issues:

1. The revelation by Elinor Kahn, state director of the IPP, that inmates of the state prison at San Quentin receive a food allotment which is approximately twice that of the average relief client in California.
2. The progressive campaign to educate voters on the importance of electing liberal legislators, because those chosen this year will inherit the job of reapportioning the state's congressional and assembly districts after the 1950 census. Job is to keep the legislature from gerrymandering minority and laboring folk out of proper representation in coming elections.
3. The caravan to Sacramento with 100,000 names on a petition for jobs, relief and pensions.
4. The unprecedented political activity among Mexican-Americans.

THE ECONOMY

UNEMPLOYMENT

Prosperity pox spreads over U.S.

AMERICAN prosperity, according to the Associated Press, is "pockmarked." There are 43 blemishes—"distress areas" in which more than 12% of the population is unemployed. The total number of unemployed is officially set at 4,600,000, the highest since 1940. Labor economists have estimated that the Census Bureau is consistently off by 1,500,000. Their figure is close to 6,000,000.

The pockmarks are clearly symptoms, but diagnoses differ. Some call the affliction seasonal, to be expected this time of year. Some government economists see the slightly slower growth of the rash as a hopeful sign: unemployment jumped 250,000 in December, only 200,000 in January.

Leon Keyserling, acting chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, recognized that even to keep unemployment at its present dangerous level our economy would have to produce more, make more jobs. "If you have the same economic level in 1954 as in 1948," he said, "you could have 10,000,000 unemployed."

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

WORN MINK: While public officials dusted off the stale chestnuts of the last depression about mink-coated relief clients on Florida vacations, New York State employers headed by the N.Y. Commerce and Industry Assn. lobbied for bills in the State Legislature to hogtie relief clients—forcing them to take jobs in any field at any pay, prohibiting them from leaving the state.

Another lobby consisted of two busloads of trade unionists led by Charles Fay, president of Local 475, United Electrical Workers. Early this month they called on the Legislature in Albany to "stop its parliamentary doodling and get down to brass tacks on the urgent bread-and-butter issue unemployment insurance." They demanded an increase in benefits to $35 per week plus $3 for each dependent; extending benefit period to 52 weeks and to include former employees of charitable and educational institutions presently excluded.

In Michigan, trade unionists and welfare workers were fighting similar bills. In Louisville, Ky., where unemployment stood at its highest in 11 years, City Welfare Director Louise Diecke unhesitatingly cut relief allowances 20%, reducing food allotments from $10 a month to $8, eliminating supplemental aid of $30 a month to dependent children, passing their needs on to the county. More than 100 children were found starving in a camp for migratory workers 14 miles west of Phoenix, Ariz. Their families had not met the residential requirements for relief.

CLEVELAND HOLDS: In Cleveland, Ohio, the Progressive Party fought successfully to halt relief cuts proposed by the city administration, as the city relief load mounted and the state failed to come through with promised funds. A Progressive Party leaflet distributed in the hardest-hit neighborhoods, and the appearance of State Director Hugh DeLacy before the City Finance Committee, were instrumental in stopping the cuts.

DeLacy urged the city to increase its own relief appropriations by 20% and to ask increased funds from the state. Though the Finance Committee did not agree to this program, it promised no immediate cuts.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

Murphy carries on fight for jobless

FOR most of the past year, Massachusetts' failing textile center, Lawrence, has had more than 20,000 unemployed, half its normal working force. By now, over 13,000 have exhausted their state unemployment compensation of $25 for 23 weeks. Relief is $10 weekly for two, $14 for five. To housewives seeking this, local chief relief administrator Tim Riley advises jailing job-seeking husbands for non-support before applying.

Blasting the relief situation, demanding $30 for 40 weeks unemployment compensation and federal public works, progressive Rev. Amos C. Barstow Murphy last fall polled 20% of the vote in a four-way race for mayor. The Church red-baited Murphy in pulpit, press and radio. Mayor Joseph Meehan called Murphy's "30-40" plan "communist," thanked Truman for turning down Lawrence on works projects.

Citizens exacted a promise from State Rep. Joseph Conley to vote for a "30-40" bill, got doublecrossed.

"Go to charity," Conley told them.

$35 FOR 52 WEEKS: This month Amos Murphy led a delegation before the Labor and Industries Committee of the State Legislature. His 1950 program: $35 for 52 weeks unemployment compensation plus $5 (instead of $2) for

AMOS W. B. MURPHY
Beacon Hill took notice

ry of the life and (smooth and rough) times of the National Guardian

FIRST K.O.
Trenton Six win reversal.

50,000 READERS
. . . if it takes all summer.

BILL
RENT BILL
PRINTING BILL
BILL

NEW YEAR, 1950
Wotta hangover! Help!

PALL-BEARERS' LAMENT
The corpse is missing.

4 FRIENDS
$1 FOR HONEST NEWS
GET BUSY!
GIVE $5
PAY UP
IT'S NOT TOO LATE!
R.J.

Drawings by Robert Joyce

SPRING, 1950
Calling all winter soldiers.

dependents under 18; repeal of "merit rating" which kicks back unemployment payments to industry in good times; assessment of the federal maximum of 2.7% (instead of 1%) on employers for the unemployment fund.

Silent in the committee was Lawrence's Rep. Joseph Conley, whose best effort to date is a bill extending present benefits three more weeks. Mayor Meehan, who called "30-40" communist, now backs a bill extending present benefits to 46 weeks for those with accumulated employment credits, which would leave workers not employed last year out in the cold.

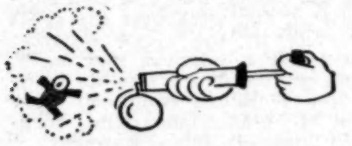
Lawrence relief victims back Murphy's program but Massachusetts' Associated Industries are fighting it. Unemployed workers have no right to increased benefits, they say.

MIDWEST

DETROIT, CHICAGO

More race riots?

ON the eastern fringes of Detroit, where 36 people died in anti-Negro housing riots in 1943, a fiery cross burned three weeks ago. Neighborhood "improvement associations" keep Negroes out of new homes. Hate sheets are sprouting. Tensions are rising. A recent report to the Mayor's Interracial Committee warned that racism will bring new disasters.



GUARDIAN's Ruth Haney reported that Mayor Albert E. Cobo's administration is scuttling public housing and encouraging private builders to maintain segregation. Last week things moved toward a climax when the City Council considered dropping a proposed 400-unit cooperative project which would admit Negroes.

Six hundred angry citizens crowded the council galleries, demanded an end to "unprincipled, un-Christian bigotry." The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People filed a petition for a law to end segregation.

Chicago's shame

There was anger in Chicago last week, too. Three men were tried for disorderly conduct in the racist mob attacks on the Peoria St. home of Aaron Bindman and William Sennett last November. Judge Joseph McGarry heard the victims, freed the rioters. (He had already dismissed charges against 21 others).

McGarry, a Democratic Party wheelhorse, blamed the victims and called the outbreak "a miserable conspiracy hatched and put into effect by a small but highly-organized and vocal band of subversive agents."

William Miller, Illinois Progressive Party director, called the verdict "a studied insult to the Negro and Jewish people." Progressives will mobilize, he said, "to defeat this bigot this year."

NEW YORK

RENTS AND ELECTIONS

Gov. Dewey woos the landlords

NEW York's Republican Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, with adjournment of the State Legislature near, unwrapped a bill for the state to take over rent controls. It had loopholes big enough to drive dispossess moving vans through. It promised landlords easier evictions, rent increases in the event of a landlord's hardship, less demand for landlord services. Democrats, Liberals, American Laborites and Communists denounced it.

New York City's Rent Commission chairman Charles G. Coster said: "A complete sell-out to the real estate lobby." ALP Congressman Vito Marcantonio said: "A blank check for the real estate interests to fill in to their own order."

FIRST AT ALBANY: New York Democrats had a stableful of candidates for the governorship race. R'aring to go were: Coca Cola's vice president James A. Farley, Democratic State Chairman Paul E. Fitzpatrick, Marshall Plan Ambassador W. Averell Harriman. Late starter was Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing.

Tammany handlers were dispatched to Albany to hold back Fitzpatrick, whose chances were considered poor. It was said that Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. had been scratched.

Republicans put their all on Dewey. Track: muddy.

Gang-up on Marc

It had been tried before and always failed—but New York's Young Republican Club set off for another go: it adopted a resolution calling for a united campaign with Democrats to unseat ALP Congressman Vito Marcantonio in the 18th District.

The one big trouble: Republicans found it hard to back a Democrat, Democrats found it harder to back a Republican.

Relief: "extras" allowed

Protests against New York City food relief grant cuts had been long and loud, finally made a small dent in Welfare Commissioner Hilliard's pittance program. He wasn't rescinding the cuts, he warned, but there would be "amelioration." Relief clients would get some allotment for "extras" like medicine, carfare, newspapers.

BE ONE, BRING ONE (see p. 1)

Lafayette, swallow this!

The Coca-Colonized world of James Aloysius Farley

By Egon Pohoryles

VISITORS to Venice came back with expressions of horror in their eyes. They had seen red gondolas delivering cases of Coca-Cola to canalside float-ins.

In Egypt, tourists said "Drink Coca-Cola" is the principal and only advertising slogan. Pierre Courtade in the serious French paper **Parallele** reported that a Coca-Cola Mosque for non-alcoholic Moslems had been opened in Cairo in the presence of high religious functionaries, and that Coca-Cola agents had suggested to the Vatican the replacement of sacramental wines by Coke at mass.

Frenchmen, reported GUARDIAN's Stan Karnow from Paris, feared that "Coca-Cola, with an estimated $400,000 yearly advertising budget, would transform France into a replica of a New Jersey Highway."

MORALS IN JEOPARDY: Divided into five major political parties, nine minor ones, Frenchmen united on one issue: They didn't like the Coca-Cola invasion. The rightist **Le Monde** thundered that Coke advertising methods were similar to totalitarian propaganda by which "whole peoples have been intoxicated. . . . The moral landscape of France is at stake."

Left-wing papers spoke of the "coca-colonization of France," said that Frenchmen would be turned into "coca-coliques." Last month, forgetting their bitter enmity, Popular Republican and Communist deputies in the National Assembly passed a law which in fact outlaws Coca-Cola.

SUPREME INSULT: In New York James Aloysius Farley, Coca-Cola's chief foreign agent, ran up the Stars and Stripes: "I'm afraid," he said, "General Lafayette would think this decision was small reward for Gen. Marshall's plan." He indicated it might be a good idea to "bar French wines as seductive to American morals in retaliation for the political slander." Billy Rose said he would stop selling French champagne in his New York night club.

Don Iddon, the London **Daily Mail's** New York correspondent, wrote that France's feelings about Coke and Britain's ban on U.S. comic books (which followed a few days after France acted) had made America "distrustful of its allies. . . . It would have been perfectly all right for the French to have said unkind things about the American eagle or the British to have criticized the American Constitution. But these insults will not be easily forgotten. To Americans Coca-Cola is the fountain of life and comic books the food for the soul. European diplomats should be aware of these things."

WHAT'S IN IT: France banned the U.S.'s fountain of life after taking a look at its ingredients: caffeine, phosphoric acid, benzoate of soda, sugar, citric acid, glycerine and X-7, "a secret formula known to only two men." They said it was a threat to French health as well as morals.

Food consultant Carlton Fredericks, who runs the popular "Breakfast at the Brass Rail" radio program in N.Y. and has long campaigned against Coca-Cola and other soft drinks, told the GUARDIAN that Coke is a heart stimulant, bad for the teeth, and is used by some doctors to fight virus diseases which affect the digestive system. Fredericks didn't prescribe it for people who were well.

JIM DANDY: France is bucking opposition. Farley has come a long way since he was a Grassy Point, N.Y., boy, is now prominently mentioned as a candidate for the Papal aristocracy and as U.S. ambassador to the Vatican. He is also a bigtime Democratic politician and a good businessman. One of his first deals for Coca-Cola was acquisition of the chimney sweepings of Cuban coffee roasting plants. The chimneys are swept once a year, make excellent Cokes.

"The former head of the Lille Municipal Laboratories," Karnow reported, "popped out from among the test tubes last week and announced that the common or garden variety bottle of Coca-Cola contains more caffein than the blackest coffee."

France vented her wrath against Coca-Cola in an indictment for failing to mark Coke's pharmaceutical ingredients on the bottle top. And France is resolute. As one political observer told Karnow: "If that doesn't stop them, we'll poison their wells."

coca cola
MILK

PEACE

Moscow will listen; Washington won't

INSIDE the Kremlin in the Marble Hall of St. George the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet gathered to hear O. John Rogge, national committeeman of the Progressive Party and once U. S. Assistant Attorney General. He had come to Moscow with a delegation of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace.

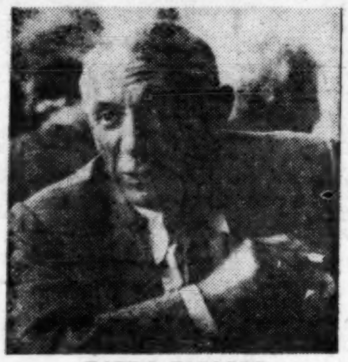
He called for an end to denunciations from both Russia and the U. S. He said: "If we can manage to remain allies there will not be another war."

The high Soviet officials also listened to artist Rockwell Kent, writer Johannes Steel and peace delegates from other nations.

WHAT CAPITALISTS? Later in Moscow's House of Journalists, Americans talked freely with Russians. Rogge said: "I should like communists to be free to state their views in the United States, and capitalists to be free to state theirs in the Soviet Union." Editor David Zaslavsky of **Pravda** pointed out that there are no capitalists in the Soviet Union.

Rockwell Kent, who said he had five children and 11 grandchildren and therefore "represented a substantial part of the population," declared: "As a member of this peace delegation and as a fighter for peace I must tell you that I am not an official representative of the American government. To be honest, I say that this government is not my government and does not represent me."

On their way home the delegation stopped in Stockholm for a round of speeches and a torchlight parade for peace.



PABLO PICASSO
Barred

SHUT THE DOOR: In Washington pleas for peace were suspect, alien, forbidden. Peace delegations from abroad headed by Pablo Picasso were barred from the country. The State Dept. pressed the UN to limit the accreditation of a left-wing correspondent. (See below.) Secretary of State Dean Acheson called for "total diplomacy" in a total cold war.

He promised to go to the country to rally business, labor, agriculture, press and radio in the "struggle." He disclaimed "a showdown in the brutal and realistic sense" but his talk bristled with aggressive terms: "playing for keeps," "an adversary who is deadly serious." Concerning peace talks with Russia he said that "only the Russians would benefit from such a step."

The speech had originally been delivered as a secret report to the Advertising Council. It was released to make known the State Department's views beyond any doubt.

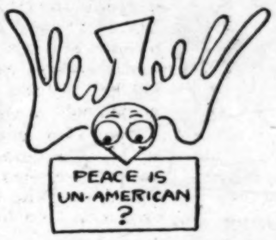
Secretary Acheson followed it with two west coast speeches in which he tried to answer the rising popular demand for peace. At Berkeley, Calif., he spoke of "peaceful settlements" and "coexistence" with Russia, but presented an ultimatum of seven points on which Russia was to surrender to U. S. demands. The Russian press referred to Acheson "total diplomacy" as "total hysteria."

Pravda commented: "All of Acheson's speeches prove one thing—the absence of any concrete proposals for strengthening peace. Total diplomacy does not materially differ from atomic diplomacy—diplomacy based on naked force with the use of pressure, intimidation, threats."

In the spirit of Acheson's cry to cold battle, Rep. John Davis Lodge (R-Conn.) demanded a "multi-million dollar war of subversion against the Soviet Union."

LOOK HOMEWARD: The word "total," borrowed from "total war" and applied to diplomacy, seemed to indicate that Acheson thought diplomacy should stop being diplomatic. Johannes Steel in his **Report on World Affairs** saw the crisis this way: "The simple fact of the matter is that there is no crisis per se in the relations betwen the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. There is only a crisis of western imperialism . . .The outstanding problems between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. arise from our inability to solve the crisis in the western world. The American attempt to solve them in the traditional imperialist manner of the 19th century is the chief cause of present imperialist tension."

While peacemakers from overseas were kept out, U.S. peacemakers were vocal. Thirty-three U.S. writers who "have no fear of peace" declared themselves ready to go anywhere, talk anywhere for peace. The growing call for peace from alarmed conservatives and businessmen embarrassed the Administration. A group calling themselves the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers refused to pay their taxes because their money would go for war purposes. On tax deadline day, March 15, they gathered to protest in scattered parts of the country "to demonstrate non-violent resistance to evil, after the manner of Mohandas K. Gandhi of India."


PEACE IS UN-AMERICAN ?

NOTHING TO OFFER: Republican columnist David Lawrence wrote: "The biggest barrier to world peace today has been erected by persons inside and outside Washington who have closed their minds to further discussion with the Russians. This school of thought says conferences are no good, the Russians can't be trusted, that sooner or later there will be war and that America must stay on a war footing day and night and borrow unearned billions from tomorrow's generations and even perhaps fight a 'preventive war' striking before the enemy can.

"The exponents of that doctrine have nothing to offer but physical force and threats. . . . It is inside America where there is a real need for greater understanding of human relations and peaceful purpose and it can only come through further debate."

The Kyriazidis case

UN bows to State Dept.—free press dealt a blow

The Editors of the GUARDIAN believe that the story below concerns a matter that strikes at the heart of American basic principles. They have gone to considerable pains to get the facts and present them herewith.

UPON the "suggestion" of the State Dept. with which UN did not have to comply, the period of accreditation of UN correspondent Nicolas Kyriazidis (London **Daily Worker**) has been curtailed to three months from the 12 months commonly granted.

By bowing to U. S. wishes the UN has weakened its international status. In the many countries where UN organs or commissions are located, a dangerous precedent has been set. These countries may now harass correspondents attached to UN organs if they don't like their politics, in the same way Kyriazidis has been harassed here since his arrival in 1947. All believers in freedom of the press must be concerned by what happened a few days ago.

CLEARING THE AIR: A Greek citizen, Kyriazidis came here as UN correspondent for **Rizospastis,** organ of the Greek Communist Party; he never concealed that he was Communist. When his paper was banned in Athens later in 1947, he was reaccredited by UN as correspondent for the Cyprus paper **Dimokratis** and the London **Worker.**

Ignoring this, U. S. Immigration agents in December, 1947, arrested him in the street, forbade him to communicate with anyone for 24 hours, and finally jailed him in Ellis Island with common-law criminals. His first telegram asking for help did not reach Lake Success. In an ensuing uproar at UN, correspondents held meetings and condemned such action.

Kyriazidis was released. His arrest had been useful in one way. It helped clear the procedures governing relations between the UN and the U. S.

THE AGREEEMNT: Relations with countries in which UN operates are governed by the Headquarters Agreement, which gives diplomatic privileges to delegates and free access to UN to delegates and staff members and their families, and to UN correspondents. Correspondents' families. were overlooked: those not particularly disliked in Washington were able to bring their wives here, but though Kyriazidis has been trying since 1947, his wife is still waiting in Paris.

Under the agreement, correspondents are accredited by UN after **consultation** with the U. S.; it does not say **approval.** Even if the State Dept.'s comment on the reporter's application is adverse, UN has the last word.

A correspondent who commits a crime or abuses his privileges can be arrested and deported only after UN is satisfied the charges are justified, in which case UN itself disaccredits him immediately. This procedure protects the interests of both the U.S. and UN.

THE CURTAIN: A basic principle of UN is that, as an international organization, it cannot tolerate racial, political or religious discrimination against anyone connected with it. This is where U. S. and UN policies clash as the U. S. government becomes more reactionary, denying visas to foreigners, deporting aliens who lived here all their life, and harassing leftists indiscriminately.

To such a government the existence of UN on its soil is a pain in the neck. But while delegates and staff members cannot be molested easily since their governments and UN itself can retaliate or protect them, left-wing correspondents from other than Communist countries (which would retaliate) become fair game.

It becomes daily more difficult for newspapers in many parts of the world to get U. S. visas for their correspondents to go to Lake Success. In this way the U. S. is erecting its own curtain, forcing foreign papers abroad to rely more and more on wire agencies with an American or British perspective for UN news.

UN BACKS DOWN: Washington claims to have evidence that Kyriazidis abused his privileges, but has formulated no charges against him.

NICOLAS KYRIAZIDIS
But they wouldn't say why

By compromising on vague hints of guilt instead of standing firmly on its own principles, the UN has backed down for the first time. To the protests of UN correspondents, Secretary-General Trygve Lie—without explaining his decision—replied that UN had acted because of the U. S. comment on Kyriazidis. Then he reiterated that UN correspondents cannot be discriminated against because of political beliefs.

The U. S. action makes sense according to a clearly-marked pattern of suppression of free speech. The UN action makes no sense at all.

MARSHALL PLAN

Two years of getting nowhere

FOR 700 years the Leipzig Fair has been the showplace for the wares of Europe's workshops. Red and gold banners fluttered last week over the great fair grounds in the city's suburbs; acres of tractors, engines, machinery, tools, and precision instruments testified to the technical equipment now available to industrialize the once-backward lands of eastern Europe.

To the fair thronged engineers, technicians, purchasers, trade ministers from Eastern Europe and China, sampling bockwurst and ice cream, swapping information, placing orders. While U. S. reporters took the opportunity to portray the "slavery" of full employment in the countries building socialism, the fair emphasized the rapid advance in those countries.

PEANUTS: Marshall Plan countries were not faring so well. In Athens, the Greek government asked for 12 electric chairs to be included in the next shipment of Marshall aid. In London, Lord Boyd Orr, formerly director of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, complained that because of the Marshall Plan Britain "is spending hundreds of millions of dollars for buying surplus ground nuts in America."

In Geneva the UN Economic Commission for Europe pondered the 6,000,000 tons of steel capacity idle in western Europe and the growing unemployment in many Marshall Plan countries, most critical in Belgium, Western Germany, Italy and Austria.

Two years of the Marshall Plan had brought no improvement in living standards for the common folk of Europe. In 1947, before the plan began to operate, Europe had already reached pre-war levels of production. Today its living standards are 10% below pre-war levels, and production is slackening off in key industries because of a lack of effective demand. UN statistics showed prices going up in nations that devalued their currencies last year.

HALF GONE: The **Half Way Mark,** second report of the Organization of

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), warned that the whole economic structure of western Europe will collapse unless the dollar problem is solved. Europe is currently shipping to the U.S. about $1,000,000,000 in goods and receiving about $5,000,000,000 in goods and services from the U.S. The dollar gap is thus about $4,000,000,000 a year. By the end of the Marshall Plan it will still, if optimistic estimates prove correct, be $2,250,000,000 a year.

OEEC asked $3,000,000,000 in Marshall aid. Only solutions proposed were further cuts in buying of U.S. goods, increased exploitation of overseas territories (where their political hold is precarious), and a reduction in U.S. tariffs.

In Washington the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on President Truman's request for $2,900,000,000 for Marshall aid. Newspapers predicted the sum would be cut to $2,500,000,000.

CHINA

U.S. reports 'famine'; helps with bombs

UNITED States-made B-25, B-26 and P-51 fighter bombers rained bombs daily this month on Shanghai and other Chinese cities. In one raid 1,000 were killed; in another a passenger train of holiday excursionists was demolished. The bombs, made in U.S.A., destroyed power facilities and railroads. The power supplies grain mills, the railroads carry grain throughout China.

The U.S. press had little to say of the Nationalist bombing offensive, greatly stepped up since Madame Chiang Kai-shek's arrival in Formosa from the U.S. It featured reports that China was suffering "the worst famine in 72 years" under its new regime. These reports were based, it was claimed, on Peking broadcasts. A study of these broadcasts revealed little basis for the reports, though hardships are admitted. The main cause of the famine suffered by China every year since 1942 was hoarding of food by landlords.

Bith floods and drought plagued North China last year, and the crop is short. Yet people suffer less because the feudal agricultural system is destroyed; the peasant is relieved of rent loads and exorbitant taxes; transport is mobilized on a nationwide scale to distribute grain.

THE CHRISTIAN TOUCH: In San Francisco Secretary Acheson, turning Chinese hunger to advantage, suggested that the Chinese could have had food and other things if they hadn't gone Communist. (The U.S. has indicated little interest and proffered less help in the many famines China has suffered in the past.) He revived without proof the accusation that Russia was taking grain out of Manchuria.

Acheson, framing an Asiatic Truman Doctrine, extended to China trade restrictions which have practically halted exports to Russia and Eastern Europe. The U.S. Navy promptly announced a visit of U.S. warships to Saigon and a "show of strength" by U.S. planes over Viet Nam.

Saigon is the capital of Emperor Bao Dai, France's puppet ruler. Even there 4,000 or more students and workers, carrying the gold-starred flag of Ho Chi Minh's independence movement, demonstrated for four hours against the presence of U.S. destroyers in the harbor. They tore down French and U.S. flags, shouting: "Down with Bao Dai! Down with American aid! Long live Ho Chi Minh!" They were finally dispersed by French police using tear gas and rifle fire. The day before, Ho's soldiers had fired mortar shells and machine-gun bullets at the destroyers.

The French were worried not only by the strength of the independence movement. They saw more and more evidence that the U.S. planned to take over the country economically as well as fighting France's colonial war against the people.

ENCORE: Acheson's speech, an announcement that the U.S. seemed about to repeat in the rest of Asia its failure in China, was made on the West Coast where both labor and business are calling for trade with China to ease growing unemployment and business stagnation.

In the United Nations Secretary General Trygve Lie offered a plan to end the deadlock created by the U.S.'s refusal to admit New China. In a memorandum Lie suggested that the obligations of UN membership can be carried out only by governments which "in fact possess the power to do so."

AFRICA

Jimcrow bondage stirs black millions

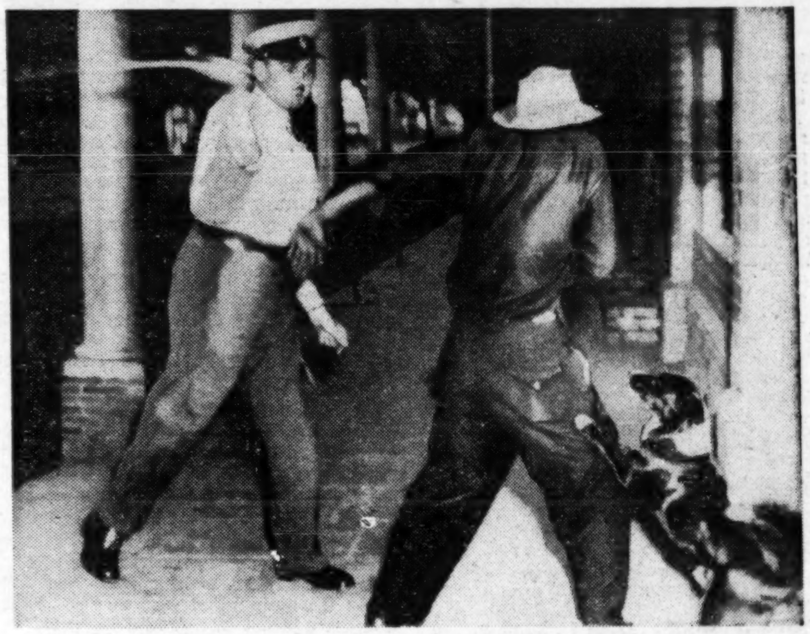
WESTERN diplomats are troubled in their work by the shadows of giants. First there was the Russian giant and lately the Chinese. On the horizon is the African giant.

Giant-killers of the State Dept. spent $6,000,000,000 to contain the Chinese giant, confident that money and guns could keep him quiet. It is now proposed to spend $3,000,000,000 within the next ten years to make Africa "a bulwark against communism."

The African bulwarks are the most uneasy in the world. From Morocco to Capetown there are 163,163,000 people in motion. They move at varying pace.

Coffee with Krim

The North African fight for freedom was reflected in a conversation in Cairo over Turkish coffee and green tea between Cyrus L. Sulzberger of the N. Y. **Times** and Abd el Krim el Khatabi, exiled Emir of the Riff and president of the National Liberation Committee of North Africans.



Every day scene in South Africa

A policeman clubs a native in Pietermaritzburg during the race riots late in January. The riots started in Durban and spread to the capital of Natal. At least 75 were killed, 1,000 injured.

He said there were 25,000,000 in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria ready to rise. For two years he had restrained them, he insisted, but "the situation in North Africa is desperate. France and Spain have covered it with an iron curtain 100 times stronger than that in eastern Europe. There are no political rights or civil liberties. We are not permitted an uncensored press. We are not permitted to travel, to form trade unions, to vote openly for men we want. All our appeals have failed. None but a violent solution is in sight."

Half threatening, half bargaining, he added: "Your country (U.S.) is leading a big fight for freedom throughout the world. You have strategic and economic interests in North Africa. We have not wanted to go against them and that is why we have waited until now. But you must act quickly."

BE ONE, BRING ONE (see p. 1)

The jimcrowed chief

The British protectorate of Bechuanaland is coveted by the neighboring Union of South Africa, which is ruled by frank admirers of Nazism under the principle of apartheid (jimcrow). Seretse Khama, chief of Bechuanaland's Bamangwatos, studied at Cambridge. There he met, courted and married Ruth Williams, a white English stenographer. She journeyed with him to his capital at Serowe to become the "Mother" of the Bamangwatos.

The elders met her and approved. The women visited her and talked with her of their problems. She and her husband had plans for the improvement of agriculture and cattle-raising. Hospitals and schools which already

(Continued on following page)

Max Werner

Decay in France

"THE decay of the French army is growing. The French army is dying."

This pathetic statement was made only a few weeks ago in **Le Monde**, Paris' leading conservative paper. Now that the first U.S. arms shipments are arriving in France, **Le Monde's** warning has a particularly strong ring. Its anonymous author—a competent military expert with unsurpassed knowledge of the French army, and an ardent nationalist—says bluntly that the army's equipment, the second-rate U.S. materiel of World War II, is completely outdated.

The training is old-fashioned and completely insufficient. The army lacks instructors expert in handling modern weapons: radar, bazooka, jets, and even tanks. The arms aid in his opinion will remain ineffective, without transforming French divisions into modern units.

STAND IN THE SAHARA: The French military crisis is obviously only a part of a bigger and deeper national crisis. Though said in an impressive summary and in brilliant form, nothing was new in the **Le Monde** articles.

Minister of Defense Teitgen stated that France has no trained reserves, is lagging in research, equipment and technicians: a country can hardly have less. The former Chief of Staff of the Air Force, Gen. Gerardot, spoke of "our poor land army, weakened by fifth columns, politically divided and mobilized only in the last moment." U.S. experts still believe in French ability to hold the Rhine line. But as late as in the December issue of the official **Revue de la Defense Nationale** the brilliant General L. M. Chassin wrote that, if war comes, the Soviet army can be probably stopped only by the sands of the Sahara desert in Central Africa.

Gen. Lecheres, chairman of the French Joint Chiefs of Staff, wrote that "impoverished France has no enemies, she has only fears." He asked whether a French moral recovery is under way, and answered that nothing of the kind has happened. As for the aspect of U.S. arms aid, this French opposite number to Gen. Bradley wrote that:

> The Soviet Union remains able to put into action, quickly and easily, means for the conquest of France infinitely more powerful than our means of defense, EVEN WITH ANGLO-SAXON AID.

PLEASE, NO ALIBIS: Thus, on the higher level, the French address warnings to us—and the Americans do not listen. In strictly military terms, the U.S. version that France is, or can be, converted into the European continental pillar of the Atlantic Pact bloc is frighteningly unrealistic. According to U.S. estimates the Soviet army and aviation are now about thrice as strong as were the German forces in 1939, while the French army has not even a third of its strength of 1939.

No alibis concerning the French military weakness and attitude are allowed on our side. To take those appeals at their face value would be tantamount to withdrawing the prop from the Atlantic Pact policy and strategy; here a peculiar "defensive reflex" starts to work.

The case is basically a political one. If France is thrown back into the political swamp of the thirties; if Edouard Daladier and Paul Reynaud, the architects of the defeat —"the gravediggers," as the great French journalist Pertinax called them—are back; then of course no other French military policy can be expected than that of the thirties, only weaker and worse.

WAKE UP, GENERAL: It is a sad comedy of errors. The French report their weakness with almost heroic frankness. It is the U.S. experts who try to talk them into belief in their alleged military strength.

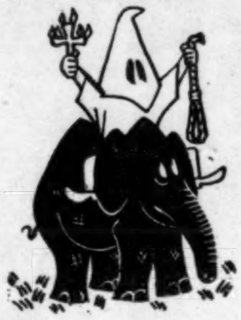
Yet those French realistic skeptics cannot take seriously the American word on a French watch on the Rhine. They accept arms aid only in order to ask for France **American protection with American land forces** and the further flow of Marshall aid.

When will Gen. Bradley and Secretary Acheson draw conclusions from irrefutable French testimony on France's real military situation?

(Continued from preceding page)

served the capital had to be multiplied many times to serve other villages and the countryside.

Racists in South Africa clamored against the new queen. Protests by the former Bamangwato regent and a handful of lesser officials served as a pretext for the British to summon Seretse to London. Seretse had assurances he would be allowed to return; his queen stayed with her new people.



DOUBLECROSS: Once in London, the labor government exiled Seretse from his land for five years, announced that Britain would rule directly. Seretse said it was because "I dared to love and accept the love of a white woman." They are to have a child in July.

British Laborites saw in the affair a further rout of their leaders before reaction. They demonstrated, formed committees, rallied their forces in Parliament. The government finally said it would allow Seretse a brief visit home to attend to personal affairs.

In Serowe, Bamangwato officials stayed away when the British Commissioner Sir Evelyn Baring announced their ruler's exile. The reason, they knew, was jimcrow.

Restless people

Elsewhere in Africa the fight for freedom left princes aside. The dockers of Oran, Algiers and Tunis refused to unload war shipments.

Liberian workers for Firestone Rubber and the Liberian Mining Co. (connected with U. S. Steel) struck for more pay. Rubber workers get 18c a day. The strike ended when the government sent in machine-gun squads. Liberia has a U. S. military adviser, receives U. S. arms to suppress "communist agitation."

At Dimkoro on the Ivory Coast of French West Africa, police killed 14 and injured 70 before they broke up a demonstration protesting the jailing of leaders of the African Democratic Union.

The Gold Coast is in a state of emergency. Its Trade Union Council and Convention People's Party called a general strike in January to demand self-government and a boycott of British goods.

In Uganda aircraft and tanks have been moved up by British troops to control disorders. Riding boots are officially recommended as a "useful weapon against barefooted natives."

SOUTH AFRICAN FERMENT: In the cities and villages of South Africa the situation is closest to open war. Against the rule of forced labor, jimcrow and tyranny, riots occur weekly, barricades are thrown up in the streets.

On March 28 delegates of trade unions, farmers' organizations, political parties and religious groups were planning to gather at a Defend Free Speech Convention in Johannesburg. It was to be another landmark in African resistance.

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Joe Gelders

IN 1935 Joe Gelders, born into a prominent Southern family, was professor of physics at the University of Alabama. Nearing middle age, he resigned his post to devote himself full time to the struggle for liberty in his native Dixie. His wife, Esther, who taught English at the university, resigned with him and fought at his side.

His health was not good, but he never ducked a battle and more than once was beaten during the seven years that he helped bring freedom to the persecuted.

After the war, in which he took a responsible post with the armed services, he moved with further impaired health to the West Coast and resumed teaching, but never slackened his efforts in the progressive movement.

Two weeks ago a heart attack killed Joe Gelders in Berkeley, Calif.

EDUCATION

FEINBERG UPHELD

N.Y. teacher fired in Jansen purge

NEW YORK Supreme Court Justices Harry Schirick and Murray Hearn, in separate decisions, had found unconstitutional the Feinberg Law for purging progressive teachers in the public schools. Early this month the State's Appellate Division overruled Justice Schirick. In New York City Justice Hearn's decision, not yet heard on appeal, still stood. However, it did not seem to inhibit New York City Superintendent of Schools William Jansen.

He had been asking teachers if they were communists, threatening to fire them if they refused to answer or if they said they were. The Teachers' Union, part of the United Public Workers, had filed contempt charges, but State Supreme Court Justice George J. Beldock dismissed them, holding that Jansen could ask questions with or without the Feinberg Law.

SCHNEIDERMAN AND QUINN: Jansen called the press, announced that he was dismissing Sylvia Schneiderman because he said she had lied about being a Communist. Then he told Mrs. Schneiderman. She had taught in the predominantly Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, was rated as "superior" by her principal. Jansen recently refused to order a trial for May Quinn (once transferred for making anti-Semitic remarks to her classes) who last year told her class that a Negro should not apply for admission to a college in the South. "I would not go where I was not wanted," she said.

At a meeting packed by members of the American Legion, Defenders of the Constitution and other militantly right-wing organizations, the Board of Education voted to back Jansen's action against Mrs. Schneiderman. Teachers Union demands for a hearing for her were refused.

Trying to read a letter received by Mrs. Schneiderman threatening her life, TU representative Rose Russell was booed and hissed, had to shout above the uproar. Board member George A. Timone, apologist for Franco and Christian Front associate, said the TU "slavishly follows the Kremlin party line."

ROSE RUSSELL
The teachers talk back

EASIER WITH MUSIC: There was still less ceremony when it came to musicians. Max Mandel, first violinist in the Pittsburgh Symphony, was labeled a communist before the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ex-FBI agent Matt Cvetic, once convicted of assaulting his sister-in-law. Last Thursday, Mandel was called before the Pittsburgh Musical Society, Local 60 AFL, expelled from the union and fired from his job with the symphony.

CALIFORNIA

They won't sign

FOR nine months the University of California's Board of Regents has been trying to jam a special "loyalty oath" down the throats of faculty members and employes. Last month the regents voted 12 to 6 to force the issue, ordered everyone to sign up by April 30 or get out. Faculty members decided almost unanimously to get out.

Most faculty members were careful to qualify their opposition to the oath with statements opposing communism. Regent John Francis Neylan voiced his resentment because they seemed to demand that "in each case of even admitted card-bearing Communists the regents should be required to prove some overt act" before firing anyone. A group of non-tenure faculty members insisted that "professional competence and performance in the academic field" should be the sole basis for hiring and firing, voted 300-1 to resign if anyone were fired for not signing the oath.

The people break through

The elections in Greece and what they mean

By Tabitha Petran

THE real left wing in Greece is an underground stream. Above ground is piled every device of terror that U. S. dollars can buy. But the stream runs through all Greece, emerging wherever the crust of reaction can be broken.

In the elections early this month the crust was broken in a dozen places. Policy of the outlawed left—the EAM (liberation movement) and the Communists—was to vote for candidates of the Democratic Front (ELD), led by former Foreign Minister John Sophianopolos, which stands for abolition of the dictatorship, general amnesty, and legalization of the Communist Party. Because of the terror in the countryside, the ELD could reach the electorate only in the major cities.

In rural areas where the Democratic Front could put up no candidates, the left voted for the National Progressive Union led by Gen. Nicholas Plastiras. This party, made up of followers of the late liberal leader Eleutherios Venizelos, is committed—in words at least—to a policy of general amnesty and conciliation of the left.

A GOOD SHOWING: Together, the ELD and the National Progressive Union got 417,000 votes of 1,500,000 counted to date, or 35%; it is estimated that 90% of this vote represented the left wing. The ELD, which polled 157,000 votes, actually won a relative majority in Greece's three biggest cities: Athens, Piraeus and Salonika. (Election in Greece is by proportional representation.)

In what was intended to be a rubber-stamp election affirming the military fascist dictatorship, this showing was a real triumph. In wide areas of Greece, dominated by right-wing bands, people suspected of left or even liberal views may be arrested and sent to concentration camps which already hold 50,000 adults. Martial law, though formally raised last December, remains effectively in force.

The fate of the most blatantly fascist parties was a further slap at the dictatorship. The extreme rightist party of Basil Markezinis — political advisor to King Paul, and the brain behind the dictatorial aspirations of Gen. Alexander Papagos—was defeated resoundingly. Likewise the rightist party of the brutal Napoleon Zervas, British-controlled wartime "resistance" leader who fought the EAM rather than the Germans.

PREMIER ZERO: Winning more votes than any other single party was the Populist Party of Constantin Tsaldaris, many times premier, always a servitor of those who occupied the country. Tory and royalist, the Populists have dominated the Greek government for more than four years. But the Populist vote of 274,000 represented approximately a 50% loss since the 1946 elections. Tsaldaris himself did not try to conceal his stunning defeat. To Cyrus L. Sulzberger of the N.Y. **Times** he cried as the votes were counted: "I am nothing."

Two other major parties carried the banner of reaction: the Democratic Socialist Party of Georges Papandreou, individualistic and outright fascist; and the Liberal Party of the big bourgeoisie led by Sophocles Venizelos, a reactionary caricature of his famous father. These parties participated in the government—fooling some observers by the names they gave themselves—since the election of 1946. The Liberals polled 252,000 votes to come in third. Papandreou came in fourth with 160,000.

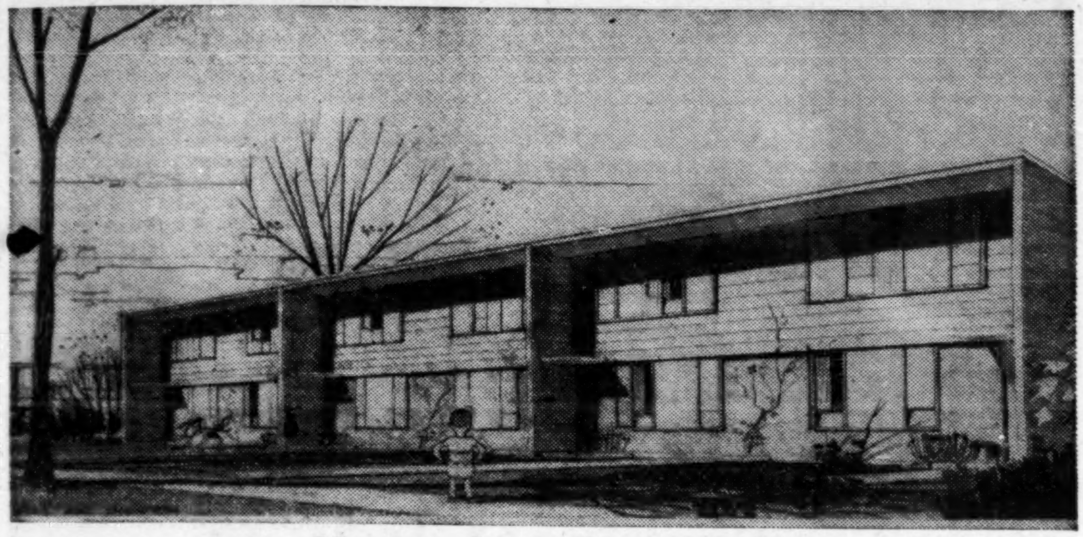
The parliament is now split into so many parties that only a three- or four-party coalition can govern. Plastiras is negotiating with Venizelos and Papandreou to form a government which he would head. This coalition, if it succeeds, will be essentially rightist with Plastiras acting as a "liberal" front.

COURAGE: For the people of Greece the most practical result of the elections seemed to be that there would be strong voices in parliament calling for democracy. Already Tsaldaris' paper has demanded: "Let's not let one of these deputies enter parliament." Sophianopolos summed up:

"The results are a condemnation of the parties governing for the last four years. The people demand that all restrictive measures be abolished, a general amnesty granted and the Makronessos concentration camp abolished."

The elections above all demonstrated the courage and high degree of political understanding won by the Greek people in ten years of war, bloodshed and unbelievable hardship.

LIVING AND LEISURE



Homes for union people

The United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, have sparked one of the country's new housing developments. A thousand homes will rise on Chicago's southwest side, each with two or three bedrooms, gas heat, refrigerators, stoves, electric garbage disposal. Around them will be playgrounds, parks, schools, shopping centers. Maximum monthly payments will be $75. The homes will be individually owned by the residents. Down payment will be less than $1,000. The union has coordinated city, state and federal planning, will have at least 400 homes for its own members. The name—Landis Village—memorializes the late Kenesaw M. Landis III, liberal Chicago newspaper columnist.

HOUSE and HOME

One-half of a nation

By Lynn Daniel

THE home we live in is basic to health, happiness and the welfare of our children. The home is where we spend most of our time. Next to food, it costs the largest part of our budget. Yet the present system of producing homes has consistently failed to provide adequate housing for the American people.

The lack of building during the war did not cause a housing crisis, though it intensified the problem. We have always had a bad housing situation. President Roosevelt spoke of "the millions of Americans who still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations." He spoke of "one-third of a nation ill-housed." Today the one-third has become one-half of the nation, and for 3,000,000 families there is no housing at all; they live with relatives or in temporary quarters.

ALWAYS OUT OF REACH: Decent homes have never been available at the price most families could afford. In 1938 half the families in the U. S. could not afford to spend more than $2,000-$4,000 for a house, yet only 15% of new houses were in that range. Today half the families cannot afford more than $25-$40 rent or $6,000 for a house, yet the median asking price for new and old houses is $9,300 and the median rental $90 a month.

There is no shortage for the upper 10% of the people who earn over $7,000 a year. There has been the biggest building boom since the 1920's but the raw deal in housing remains. Private enterprise has not produced any new houses for the 51% of American families earning less than $3,000 a year or the 32% earning between $3,000 and $5,000. The fact is that private enterprise cannot and never has been able to produce new housing for more than 10% of the people.

THE OLD WAYS PAY: The only decent housing for the majority of the people at prices they can pay has been government public housing. The 1949 Housing Act provided for a mere drop in the bucket compared to need.

Many excuses are offered. But reasons don't build houses. If there is a will, there is a way. The trouble is, there is no will because the old way pays.

Over half the nation lives in homes which have already paid off their investment and are being squeezed for the last dollar. By keeping good low-rent housing off the market, the last dollar can be squeezed from slum real estate.

BIGOTRY'S PROFITS: The biggest gold mine is maintained by segregating Negro Americans in slums. Two out of every three dwelling units occupied by Negroes are sub-standard as compared to one out of four for whites. There is four times as much overcrowding. Segregation guarantees huge profit from the worst housing.

Instead of accepting the responsibility for housing the people, the government has operated to protect real estate investments and building interests by maintaining slums and discrimination. It is up to the people themselves—particularly those who desperately need new homes and are the victims of greed and bigotry—to compel their government to end the raw deal.

●

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CALENDAR

New York

LABOR'S MID-CENTURY SALUTE TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE rally, pageant. Thurs., March 23, 8 p.m. Paul Robeson, Ewart Guinier, others. Golden Gate, 142 St. & Lenox Av. Tickets 60c, $1.20 (reserved) from sponsor: Harlem Trade Union Council, 2 E. 125 St. SA 2-0880.

CARNIVAL, SQUARE DANCE, sponsor N.Y. Council Arts, Sciences, Professions. Judy Holliday, Sono Osato, Ella Winter, many others. Sat. eve., March 25. Tickets $1.25 at ASP, 49 W. 44 St., MU 7-2161.

RELIGION AND OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES topic of sermon-lectures by Rev. Joseph Fletcher, who led support by clergy of Melishes. Part of regular services Sun., March 26, April 2, 11 a.m. Church of the Holy Trinity, Clinton & Montague Sts., Bklyn (near Boro Hall).

HOW PROGRESSIVE IS ISRAEL'S LABOR GOV'T? Public meeting Sun. March 26, 8:30 p.m. Sponsor Progressive Zionist League-Hashomir Haziar. Guest speaker from Israel. Adelphia Hall, 74 5th Av. Adm. free.

Chicago

BORIS STEINBERG SPEAKS Fri., March 24, 8:30 p.m. at home of Herbert Schoenberg, 488 Greenwood, Glencoe. Auspices North Shore Prog. Party. Refreshments. Donation $1.

BACK FROM EUROPE with films of experiences in England, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Boris Steinberg speaks Sat., March 25, 8 p.m. at the Rosen's, 1513 W. Sherwin. Sponsor 49th Ward PP.

FUN FOR THE KIDS: Hortense and her puppets. 1st of series of monthly children's programs sponsored by Women's Division, Prog. Party. Sat., March 25, 1:30 p.m. 170 W. Washington St., 4th Fl. Sylvia Ware reports on her trip to Europe at regular meeting Women's Div. PP same place, same time.

ART IN CRISIS, forum No. 3 sponsored by Modern Book Store. Features Peggy Kraft, Leo Tannenbaum, others leading discussion on art, the people's struggle and responsibility of progressive artists. Sun., March 26, 8 p.m. Woodrow Wilson Rm., 116 S. Michigan Av.

WEST SIDE YPA DANCE featuring Harry Hill & band, Sat., March 26, 8:30 p.m. FE Hall, 1110 S. Oakley (Roosevelt & Ogden). Donation $1. Proceeds Robert Kirkendoll defense.

COLOR FILMS FROM EUROPE. Hear about Boris Steinberg's exciting trip. First hand information. Wed., March 29, auspices 50th Ward PP. At the Goldman's, 6150 N. Hamilton.

DR. EUSTACE HAYDON, leader Chicago Ethical Society, speaks on "Religion Down to Earth," auspices Swedish Educ. League, Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. I.O.G.T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av.

PEARL HART 60TH BIRTHDAY testimonial dinner Sat., April 8, 7 p.m. Bismark Hotel. For reservations, contact Midwest Comm. Protection of Foreign Born, 431 S. Dearborn, WEBster 9-7752.

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON speaks on her trip to China and U.S.S.R. at opening mass meeting of Ill. State Conv. of Prog. Party Fri., April 14 at Metropolitan Church, 4100 S. Parkway. Tickets 60c at PP, 170 W. Washington St. Sponsor: Women's Div. PP.

THIRD PEOPLE'S CONCERT starring Earl Robinson, Big Bill Broozy, Jewish People's Chorus. Sat., April 15, 8:15 p.m. 11th St. Theater Build., 72 E. 11 St. Sponsor Ill. Prog. Party.

20TH JUBILEE JPFO-IWO, Sun., April 23, 2:30 p.m. Paul Robeson entertains. Orchestra Hall. Tickets 90c, $1.25, $1.85 $2.50 at JPFO, 64 W. Randolph, AN 3-2660.

SOUTH SIDE CONFERENCE ON CHILD WELFARE: Parents invited. Sat., March 25. 1-5:30 p.m. Parkway Community House, 5120 So. Parkway. Adm. $1. Results to be relayed to White House Conference on Child Welfare.

California

FAMILY PARTY, POT LUCK DINNER, dance. Bring main dish, salad, or dessert and all your friends. Donation 75c, children free. Ind. Prog. Party. March 25, 6:30-11:30 p.m., Masonic Temple, Long Beach.

RUMMAGE SALE, conducted by IPP Luncheon Club. Bring good clothing, household items, etc. to office IPP, 16½ Pine Av., Long Beach. Sale Tues., March 28, all day at 436 B'way, Long Beach.

BUFFET SUPPER, PARTY sponsored by Orange County IPP Club. April Fool's Day, April 1. Games, cards, chess, music, dancing, skits. Bring GUARDIAN subs, family, friends. Donation $1. 301 7th Av., Huntington Beach.

SECOND BIRTHDAY BALL of Ind. Prog. Party, Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. Refreshments. Entertainment, Band. Square dancing. Chase Hotel, Pico Blvd. on Ocean Front, Santa Monica. Sponsor IPP, 2960 W. 8 St., Los Angeles, DU 7-5211. Adm. $1.

Chicagoans

JUNE ?
2-3-4

DEBATE SENSATION!
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Former General Secretary of the Communist Party
No: MAX SCHACTMAN
Chairman, Ind. Socialist League
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The doctors discuss

Health hazards and industrial hygiene

The Physicians Forum is a national organization of doctors who believe in the widest distribution of high-quality medical care. General health insurance is one of its aims. From its offices at 510 Madison Av., New York City, its activities spread into 38 states, including work with community groups, publication of medical bulletins and educational literature, providing speakers on health issues and preparing testimony for legislative committees.

By the Physicians Forum

ALL states and many cities carry on industrial hygiene activities. The main purpose is to promote measures that will prevent occupational disease in workers—diseases like lead poisoning, silicosis or skin afflictions.

Much of this good work is accomplished through plant surveys by the health department. These hygiene surveys are completed with written recommendations on the steps necessary to correct any problems. For example, a report might state that silica dust in amounts exceeding a safe limit has been detected and that certain ventilation equipment should be installed.

The trouble is that many of these recommendations are not acted upon by the plant management. Or second-best, cheaper and less effective methods may be used. Instead of the ventilation system, the company might ask the men to wear masks. This would make working far less pleasant (though safer) and be less effective, but it would save the company money.

ROOT OF THE TROUBLE: Such weak results are possible because state enforcement powers on plant health conditions are weak. Elaborate court action would usually be required, health departments lack the funds, personnel, and sometimes the courage to take such action.

In the face of this, one might suppose that health agencies would give reports to both labor and management. Then, at least, labor could demand correction in the bargaining process. Strange as it seems, this is seldom done. Typically, industrial health reports are given only to the companies. This is sometimes the case even when a survey has been requested by the union.

Thus property values are placed above human values in the production process. In effect, a government agency, supposedly impartial, is concealing from workers conditions which may be jeopardizing their lives. This is outrageous in a democracy, and organized labor should insist that it be changed.

Unions should make clear that all reports made by public agencies be given impartially to labor and management. With this technical knowledge, unions will be in a position to bargain for the elimination of hazards to health as well as other important matters.

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For the kids

On April 15-16 representatives of national organizations concerned with child welfare will meet at Chicago's Hull House to chart a program. Their goal will be a plan for presentation to the White House Conference on Children and Youth scheduled for next December.

Attending the Chicago meeting will be spokesmen for social workers, interracial groups, doctors, schools and churches. They will cover family, school, community and health aspects of child welfare. Organizations wishing to participate should address the Bread-and-Butter Conference, Room 602, 2 E. 23d St., N.Y. 10.

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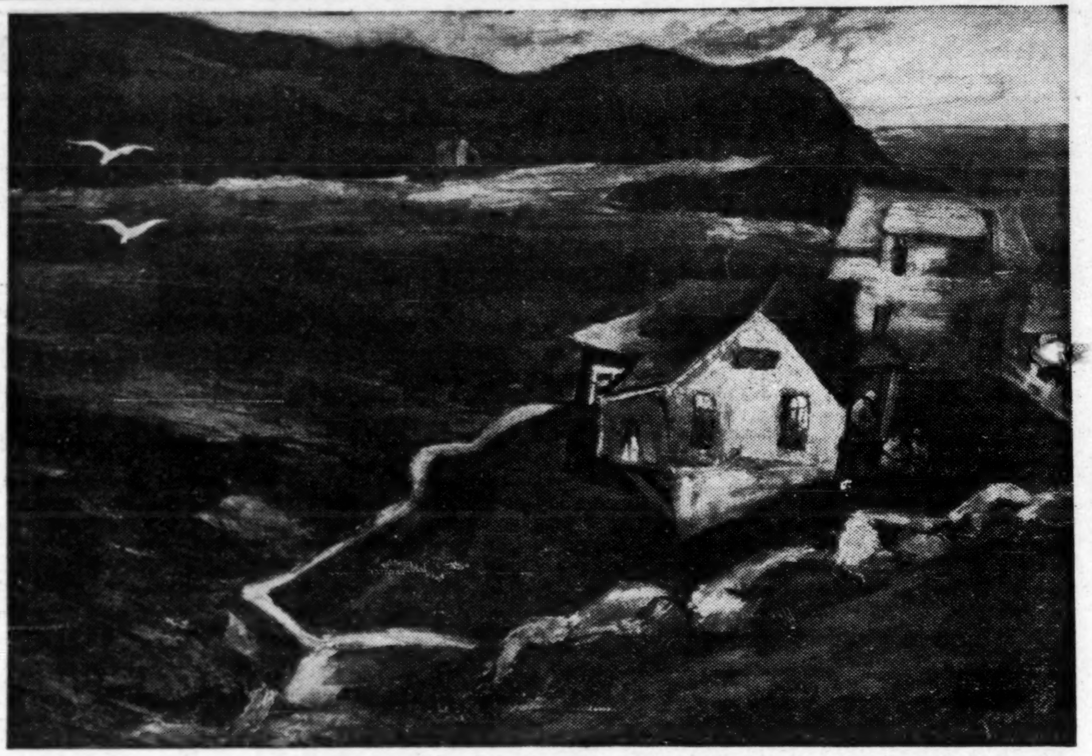


Port Clyde by Abram Tromka

The painting above is a part of Tromka's tenth one-man show, at the ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St., N. Y., March 27 to April 15. Tromka, born in Poland, raised in the U. S., is mainly self-taught. About his work he says: "The subjects speak for themselves. If social comment is in my work, it is because social forces clash, and their impact provides material for the imagination of the artist." He has exhibited in most of the museums throughout the U. S.

Radio and Press

Fulton Lewis meets a lady with guts

ADELAIDE FREEMAN STAPAULES, 49, lives on a farm in Hollenberg, Kans., (pop. 99), with her husband Steve and their four children. She is the granddaughter of Daniel Freeman, first homesteader in the U. S. and pioneer Nebraska liberal whose homestead is now a national park.

Mrs. Stapaules, who was Hollenberg postmaster from 1944-48, likes what her grandfather stood for. She was an ardent supporter of F. D. R. and became an active Progressive Party worker. She hates war—and doesn't keep her opinion to herself.

More than a year ago, as a Voice of Freedom radio monitor, she wrote to radio networks taking them to task for letting their commentators peddle war talk. Two letters were printed in the VOF bulletin. They were signed "A. F. S., Hollenberg, Kans."

SNIFF, SNIFF: Fulton Lewis, whose vicious broadcasts have been a special target of the VOF, put his bloodhounds to work. He traced the letters to Mrs. Stapaules and last month devoted one of his broadcasts to smearing the lady.

Immediately the Wichita (Kans.) **Beacon** joined the hunt. Its roving correspondent called Mrs. Stapaules on a rural party line and asked her the standard questions about communist connections. She refused to answer. Robinson leaped into a car and roved 150 miles to Hollenberg

In an interview he wrung from Mrs. Stapaules the horrendous admission that for 15 years she had been writing letters against warmongering radio commentators. The story was printed under the headline to the right ➸

THE LADY IS DEFIANT: The story also said that Mrs. Stapaules was bitter at newspapers "because they are not telling the truth." When told that the VOF had been called a "communist-front" organization, she asked: "Who said so? Isn't the former chairman of the House Un-American Committee now in jail?"

She declared she would continue to write letters of protest against things she didn't like. "That's my right as an American citizen," she said. "I'm still not ashamed to admit I'm against war. What's more, you can tell Fulton Lewis Jr. to go to hell."

Robinson turned his interview over to Lewis, who used selected parts for another sneering broadcast. One part neither he nor Robinson used was Mrs. Stapaules' statement that she believed in the principles of Christ. Nor did either of them tell how Robinson stepped out of his reportorial role to tell Mrs. Stapaules that "Christ was a communist."

SHE HAS FRIENDS: Last week Mrs. Stapaules, completely undaunted, told a GUARDIAN reporter that it was not the first time her family had to fight reaction.

"I have always been opposed to hate, greed, war and oppression," she said, "and in my small way have tried to work with those forces which alleviate the burdens of the common man from the forces of evil."

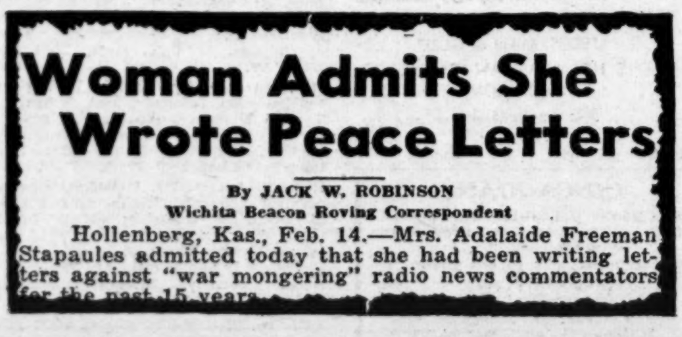
When asked if she had had any words of encouragement, she smiled and pointed to a pile of letters: "Part of my fan mail—the result of Lewis' broadcast." Then she grew serious and said:

"I would say to all progressive people: Do not allow yourself or your struggling neighbors to be intimidated by persons or groups who are not working for the benefit of mankind in general."

TO BEAR THE FRUIT: "I have often worked the soil alongside my husband, just as many farm women do, and the fruits of our labor oftentimes are destroyed by nature. But we don't stop there—we keep on producing what we can. That is what all peace-loving people must do.

"What has happened to America that our newspapers are permitted to act as police and courts in the land? Hunting down citizens who dare express their ideas in public, and using Gestapo tactics to make them confess to acts of which they are not guilty?

"The great majority of our people want peace and security, I feel certain. We can't let them down."



Woman Admits She Wrote Peace Letters

By JACK W. ROBINSON
Wichita Beacon Roving Correspondent

Hollenberg, Kas., Feb. 14.—Mrs. Adalaide Freeman Stapaules admitted today that she had been writing letters against "war mongering" radio news commentators for the past 15 years.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Price war on appliances

SOME large N. Y. department stores have started an unadvertised war on appliances in an effort to upset price-floor laws, and are giving consumers a chance to get bargains. There may be similar developments throughout the country.

Trade laws in most states permit the manufacturer to set the resale price on a product. If a retailer cuts this price, ,the manufacturer can get a court order forbidding him to sell for less. That kind of price control in reverse is practiced by some of the same businessmen who fought against OPA, which set maximum, not minimum, prices'

HOW THEY DO IT: But fair-trade laws are hard to enforce. For some years discount houses and other small dealers have quietly been cutting these prices. We have reported from time to time on such specials as vacuum cleaners, records, toasters and electric clocks at 20% to 30% off the official prices. These dealers have streamlined their selling systems, can do business on a profit of one-third of wholesale cost instead of the two-thirds many retailers demand.

For an electric iron that costs him, say, $3, the discount house charges $4, not the $5 the manufacturer sets and that most stores want. (If you wish names of discount houses that also sell by mail, drop this department a card.)

MACY'S REBELLION: Now Macy's has cut prices on a number of price-fixed items, claiming that if manufacturers let discount houses do it, a department store has its rights too. A number of other big N. Y. department stores are meeting Macy's reductions—Gimbels, Bloomingdale's, Wanamaker's and Abraham & Straus. Among items that have been cut are the **General Electric** steam iron, considered one of the best made, from its list price of $17.95, to $14.36; the **Dormeyer** food mixer with meat grinder, from $40 to $32; the **Broilking** broiler from $19.95 to $14.98. Prices have also been slashed on such popular items as **Proctor** irons, **Hobart** kitchen aid mixers, and so on.

If manufacturers seek to prevent the price-cutting by injunction, Macy's will present evidence showing fair-trade prices have been widely cut by smaller stores and will try to have the law declared invalid.

LET THE CUTS ROLL: This would do much to weaken the price-fixing laws in other states. Cutting itself is already putting pressure on wholesale distributors and manufacturers to reduce their official tags, as well as permitting retailers to compete on prices. When you realize that it costs only $20 to produce a vacuum cleaner with a $50 tag on it, you see how much room there is for cutting all around.

People in towns other than New York will do well to seek out stores that will give them 20% off on price-fixed items. What's happening in New York shows it can be done. Repeat: if you can't get discounts locally, you can get them by mail from sources investigated and pre-shopped for you by this department.

Value in children's shoes

THE high prices of small shoes are a big gripe among parents. They're a necessity that can't be postponed, handed down or otherwise evaded. For boys, one good value is the Gerberich shoe sold at Boy Scout Trading Posts. These are $6 to $8.50. Many of the posts sell these without requiring that the boy belong to the scouts.

Other comparatively good values include Thom McAn; G. R. Kinney Educator shoes; Stride-Rite; Miles, and Coward. The all-important thing is proper fit (roomy toes and snug but not binding heel) to get maximum wear. That's even more vital than buying the best-quality leathers.

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A decorated officer who was for Wallace

This is how the Marine Corps hounded him

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

SECOND Lieut. Harold Keith Thompson Jr. resigned from the U.S. Marines in November, 1948, but is still held under arrest in Quantico Marine Post—on charges which could at worst result in his discharge from the corps. His arrest followed his daring act of joining the Progressive Party.

Rising from seaman second class to permanent commissions in the Navy and then in the Marines, and winning many citations for outstanding qualities of leadership including one from the Sons of the American Revolution, Thompson had a spotless six-year record in the two services. In 1948 he attended some Progressive Party meetings in New Jersey, his home state.

NO PLACE FOR LIBERALS: To the Secretary of the Navy through prescribed channels he wrote in November of that year: "My resignation without condition is respectfully tendered herewith in order that I may . . . be free to actively participate in the political cause of the Hon. Henry A. Wallace and the Progressive Party of which I am a founding member." He was convinced he could no longer morally continue in a militaristic career.

He had built a reputation with enlisted men as a good legal representative at courts martial, but had often, he wrote, been made "too busy" to represent men who requested him. "I am thoroughly convinced," he concluded his letter, "that there is no place for a liberal in the present military hierarchy."

The resignation was approved by the post commander and Marine Corps commandant, but on Dec. 29 acting Navy Secretary John N. Brown wrote: "I appreciate the desirability of ridding the service of this officer as quickly as possible and the danger that prosecution might be interpreted as persecution in some quarters. The normal standards of the service, however, leave us no alternative but to prosecute this officer . . . for the very serious offense charged."

SORDID RECORD: Thompson was accused of striking a man under his command, and of actions indicating homosexuality. The inference from Brown's letter was that Thompson had tried to resign to escape trial.

The trial took place through 13 days of March, 1949. On its eve, after the defense had laboriously worked out its answers to the original charges, three more were added. The 425 pages of the trial record—as sordid a document as this reporter has ever seen—reveal framed evidence which backfired on the prosecution, intimidation, wire-tapping, secret recording of "private" interviews and an atmosphere of terror among enlisted men used as witnesses.

Private Richard L. Beck, star witness on the homosexuality charge, who was threatened with prison if he refused to testify, told how he had once gone into Thompson's room and borrowed $20. He had told his friends, he testified after hours of legal haggling, that he considered the visit an honor and a privilege. "Before you knew it," he added, "I was called in for investigation by two men," who had said to him: "We know all about it."

LT. HAROLD K. THOMPSON
"No place for a liberal . . ."

His testimony went on: "They asked me—switched me all around. I was so scared. My mind was blank. They threatened me with a court martial . . . and told me to write just what they told me to write."

UNMENTIONED SPANKINGS: The Judge Advocate dropped Beck and the morals charge like a hot potato. On the charge of striking enlisted men, evidence was presented that two privates and a Corporal Tilton had been spanked. But Tilton said one of the privates, who in court claimed to have left Tilton and Thompson alone, had helped drag him into the room and held his hands while Thompson spanked him. The same private had at the time called it all a joke, Tilton said.

The record showed that the alleged spankings, which the three witnesses said took place in April, May and June of 1948, had never been mentioned by any of the three until the investigation began after Thompson tried to resign. The defense proved that on the dates of some of the alleged offenses the complainants were elsewhere.

UNWELCOME TRUTH: Capt. John L. Fraser of the U.S. Navy Medical Corps, Post Surgeon at Quantico, was asked on Dec. 21, 1948, to examine Thompson and classify him as Group I or Group II homosexual. Fraser testified that Thompson "appeared under some nervous strain, but from the best evidence obtainable at the time I could find no traits toward homosexuality . . . His general remarks were intelligent and clear and . . . there was no hesitancy in answering all of my questions." Seeing that Fraser's testimony was entirely favorable to Thompson, the Judge Advocate not only failed to present it but attacked Fraser's competence as a witness when he testified for the defense.

The court martial headed by then Brig. Gen. Louis R. Jones found Thompson guilty on three counts of striking enlisted men. Although, according to defense attorney John A. Kendrick, a record time has elapsed for action on review and appeals, no action has been taken.

TERRORIZATION: Some sensational aspects of the case, developed outside the trial proper, have been made part of the record through briefs by Kendrick and affidavits:

- Gene Best, a Marines private in the brig after a court martial in which he sought Thompson's aid, swore that T/S James W. Lea who did much of the Thompson case investigation questioned him in the brig about alleged sexual relations with Thompson. When Best denied the charge and refused to sign a confession he was sent to the Bethesda psychiatric ward, where two psychiatrists told him Thompson had been there, given a whole list of names, and expressed the desire that all on the lists admit everything. Persisting in his denials, Best was left at Bethesda for two more weeks without treatment, then returned to the brig at Quantico.

Thompson had never been at Bethesda and never made such a list.

- John E. Rudder—prior to April, 1949, the only Negro officer in the Marines—swore that Quantico Provost Marshal Lieut. Col. Prickett called him in and said: "We have an airtight case against your friend Harold Thompson and we do not want a smart outside lawyer to get him out of his conviction." Getting nowhere in his questions as to whether Rudder shared Thompson's political views about the military, Prickett had "adopted a more threatening attitude." Rudder swore he knew that the controversy over Thompson's political views preceded the bringing of charges by some six months. After appearing as a character wit[illegible]ss for Thompson, Rudder was hono[illegible] discharged from the service.

- Beck, the witness who blew the morals charge sky-high in the trial, swore that afterward he was arrested, held without charges, and finally accused of indecent exposure before the wife of an NCO. Major K. B. Pickle told him he would be tried unless he retracted his testimony. He stuck to his story, was never tried, but was honorably discharged.

PRO-THOMPSON BRASS: Both court testimony and affidavits showed Thompson had been active in exposing illegal and unfair practices against enlisted men. His activities helped bring out evidence that men were held in leg irons in violation of naval law, forced as a punishment to put garbage on their meal trays, and denied the right of counsel in courts martial.

Testifying by deposition for Thompson were two Navy captains and four commanders; a colonel, a captain and a lieutenant of Marines; a lieutenant-colonel of the air force; and Rear Admiral Byrd, in whose second South Pole expedition Thompson had served so well that Byrd helped in Thompson's transfer to the regular Navy. Despite the pressure six corporals, five privates and 49 second lieutenants went to bat for Thompson.

IT'S ON THE DESK: Kendrick has filed three briefs demanding full acquittal with Navy Secretary Matthews, who has put the case in the hands of John F. Floberg, Asst. Secretary of the Navy for Air. "It's still lying on Floberg's desk—I wish we could get rid of it," said Col. C. J. Bigler, disciplinary chief of the corps, to the GUARDIAN.

Thompson, an affable, courteous six-foot-sixer of 27, descended on both sides from fighters in the Revolutionary War, says he'll fight the case until his beard is grey. His expenses have been tremendous. His pay was stopped for a few months, restored after legal proceedings were threatened.

He once thought he would soon be engaged to a girl in New York, but that has fallen through.

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